Thos Michaelson De Cartmell

1752. May. 10th

William Field 1844

Quere Who was the Author of this Book
[illegible] what his motive for writing it

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Sound Mallows Post

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Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas:

OR THE

SACRED and ROYAL

Prerogative

OF

Christian Kings.

Wherein *Sovereignty* is by Holy Scriptures, Reverend Antiquity, and sound Reason asserted, by discussing of five Questions.

AND

The Puritanical, Jesuitical, Antimonarchical Grounds are disproved, and the untruth and weakness of their new-devised-State-principles are discovered.

Rom. 13. 1, 2. *The Powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

Dei Gratia Mea Lux.

London, Printed for *Tho. Dring*, over against the *Inner-Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-street*, 1680.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE
DUKE of *ORMOND*.

MY LORD,

PIety and Policy, Church and State, Prince and Priest are so nearly and naturally conjoyned in a mutual Interest, that like to Hippocrates his Twins, they rejoyce and mourn, flourish and perish, live and dye together. Sound Reformed Catholick Protestants deny justly such a Subordination of the Prince to the Priest, as by any direct or indirect over-ruling Power, the Crown and Scepter are under any coactive (directive we acknowledge) over-ruling Power of the Mitre, and that Kings by any Church-man or men whatsoever, Pope or Presbytery, are censurable, deposable, deposable. Notwithstanding it is certain, Religion hath a mighty Influence upon State, Governours, and Government, that from the happiness and quiet of Religion issueth forth necessarily the happiness and quiet of the Civil State. The Heathen did see this, that Religion rightly ordered is the Base and Bottom, upon which King and State are founded; Religion is the cement of all Societies, συνέχει δῶμα; it bindeth Families together, and Cities too, and is their greatest splendour and ornament; καλὸν ἄγαλμα πόλεσιν εὐσεβὴς τρόπος. That one saith Religion is συνεκτικὸν ἀπάσης κοινωνίας: and a

Eurypides in Bacch.

Idem ibidem.

Christian

Christian to the same purpose, Religio & timor Dei, solus est qui custodit hominum inter se Societatem; *Religion and the Fear of God, and nothing else preserveth all Societies amongst men*; *Religion teacheth Kings how to rule, and Subjects how to obey, maketh* Obedience complete, universal, entire *in all things, not partial in some things onely*; *it teacheth our Reverence, Service, and Obedience*, not to be outward with Eye-service, but sincere, for Conscience sake, *as in the sight of the Lord. Religion hath a powerful influence upon Laws*; *the Heathen who termed Religion the Cement of all Society, calleth it too*, συνεκτικὸν νομοθεσίας, *the Cement, the Strength, the Vigour, the Life of all Laws. This made* Zoroaster *authorise the Laws by* Horomasis, Zamolxis *by* Vesta, Trismegistus *by* Mercurius, Minos *by* Jupiter, Charondus *by* Saturnus, Draco *and* Solon *by* Minerva *and* Apollo, *and* Numa Pompilius *by* Ægeria. *Religion is the Nurse of the Quiet of State and Common-wealth*; εἰ πάντες οἱ κοινωνὲς εὐσεβεῖς εἴεν, ἧττον ἀν' αὐτοῦς ἐθέλειν περὶ τοὺς ἀλλήλους ἀνόσιον τὶ ποιεῖν. καὶ περὶ ἑαυτόν. *If all living in one Society and Kingdom were pious and religious, none would wrong themselves or others. Take it more fully from a Christian Emperour*, οὗπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ φυλαττομένου, καὶ τὸ λοῖπον ἡμῖν εὐθυνήσι πλίτευμα. *If Religion be preserved in Peace, it rights and facilitates all the rest of the Government. Religion is the Walls, Strength, and Safeguard of King and Kingdom*; εὐσέβεια μία φύλακὴ. *Overthrow me* Sion, Civitatem Veritatis & Sanctitatis, *and you cannot but over-*

Plutarch. Lactant. de ira Dei. cap. 1.

Rom. 13.

Plutarch.

Xenophon. in Cyropædia, lib. 8. l. 16. in qualibet. de Episc. & Cleric. C. Theod. Justinian. Novel. 42. Trismegistus apud Lactantium, l. 2. Instit. c. 16.

overthrow *Jeruſalem*, Civitatem juſtitiæ: *all this is much more and ſolely verified of the Chriſtian Religion: a ſtrange Wonder then it is, that ſo many* Achitophels *and* Achans *in the World ſhould promiſe to themſelves, undertake to Chriſtian Kings, by ſacrificing the Church, undoing the Solemnity of the Service and Worſhip of God, deſtroying Chriſt his Ordinances, robbing him of his Patrimony and Right, to eſtabliſh King and Kingdom, Peace and Quiet in the Land. How is it probable or poſſible, Religion being the* Baſe and Bottom *upon which all Happineſs of King and Kingdom are grounded and founded, the Cement and Bond that tieth all together; the Rule of Right ruling, the Mother of entire and hearty Obedience, the life of Laws, the uſe of Quiet, and Strength of all Defence, that it being diſordered, King, Kingdom, and State can be well, and enjoy any kind of Happineſs?*

If neither the Dictate of Nature, nor ſacred Truth revealed in holy Word ſhould confirm this Truth; the ſad and doleful Experience we find, we feel this day in the Acheldama *of theſe Kingdoms, has laid it open to our Eyes in Letters of Blood, that he that runneth by may read it. Conſider how ſince the* Sacred Hierarchy, *the Order inſtituted by Chriſt for the Government of his Church, conſtituted by the Apoſtles, and continued againſt any prevalent Oppoſition for fifteen Ages and upwards, without Interruption, hath been oppoſed, that in ſome places it is totally overthrown, in other places diſgraced, weakened, and threatned with Abolition of Root and Branch, what is the Condition of Sovereignty and Subject? You ſhall find that the Courſe againſt it hath been a preparatory Deſtructive to Royalty, to the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject. Many are deceived, and think it ſkilleth not what Government be in the Church; it is enough if the Eſſentials and Fundamentals of Faith and Worſhip be preſerved. They are infinitely deceived,*

no Society can ſubſiſt without Government, and if you deſtroy the Government, neither can the ſound Faith, nor the true Worſhip be long maintained. The Apoſtle intimateth this, Col. 11. 5. *that* he joyed to behold their Order, and the ſtedfaſtneſs of their Faith in Chriſt. *Firſt,* their Order; *then* the ſtedfaſtneſs of their Faith in Chriſt, *implying, where right Order is not maintained, ſtedfaſtneſs of Faith in Chriſt cannot continue: A Holy Father to this purpoſe ſaith well,* τάξις μήτηρ καὶ ἀσφάλεια τῶν ὄντων, *Order is the Mother and Security of the Being of all things that have Being. Do we not ſee that the Order and Government of the* Roman *Church doth this day preſerve their Humane Inventions and unwarrantable Superſtitions, in ſuch Safety, that, alas, Truth doth not prevail much upon them are within her Communion? and on the other part, our Diſorder, and not ſetled Government, maketh us loſe too too much, and gain too too little.*

Gr. Naz. Orat. de mod. in diſp. ſervanda.

Look a little upon the Parallel, and conſider how ſince Epiſcopacy hath been infeſted, and way too much given to a prevalent Faction, what malign Influence this courſe hath had upon Sovereignty, and it will make it appear, that the Mitre cannot ſuffer, and the Diadem be ſecured. It was maintained, that Epiſcopacy *was none of Chriſt's Inſtitution, it was onely the poſitive conſtitution of man. Hath not* Royalty *been thus entertained? Do not our Sectaries impudently maintain, that Kings are the onely Extract of the People, having their Being and Conſtitution by derivation from them? Do they not hold, that howſoever* Epiſcopacy *is a* tolerable government *of the Church, yet it is mutable, at the pleaſure of the Church? And do they not anſwerably aver, that the collective or repreſentative Body of the Community, may, upon any real or fancied Exigent, mould themſelves into an Ariſtocracie or Democracie? Others more deſperately have reached higher, and give out, that the Sacred Hierarch*

Hierarchy is Antichriſtian, againſt Chriſt and his Scepter, (not being able becauſe of their Ignorance to difference betwixt Chriſtian Hierarchy, *and* Romiſh Hieromonarchy.) *Have not the Authors and Abettors of theſe Paradoxes in Divinity, invented and vented as blaſphemous Principles againſt the Lord's Anointed in Policy? Do they not magiſterially determine that Kings are not of God's creation, by* authoritative commiſſion, *but onely by* permiſſion, *extorted by importunity, and way given, that they may be a ſcourge to a ſinful People? Nor is this all; theſe late diſtempers have produced Creatures not of Chriſt's making,* Ruling Elders, *who are adopted to be Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, with equal Power with men in holy Orders, to decide and determine in matters of Faith, Worſhip, and in the exerciſe of the Power of the Keyes; nothing kept from them but liberty to Preach publickly, to baptize, and to conſecrate the bleſſed Euchariſt. Anſwerable to this, find we not, that they have erected a* coordinate, a coequal, a corrival Power *with Sovereignty, and have made* Regnum in regno, *two Sovereigns, a thing incompatible with Supremacy and Monarchy? the perſecution of Epiſcopacy has been ſo hot and cruel, that I dare ſay, look upon all Perſecutions recorded in Eccleſiaſtical Story, none can parallel this, if ye conſider it as it is cloathed with all its circumſtances, and attended with its conſequents; Epiſcopacy, after the moſt exact and ſollicit Tryal, is onely the Crime, except you will add the Solemnity of the Publick Worſhip intended and attempted, to vindicate God's Service from prophaneneſs and contempt, and to reſtore it to its ancient true beauty, to the ſhame of the* Roman *Church. Men innocent, men well deſerving of the Church and Kingdom, have been caſt out, their Eſtates ſeized, their Houſes rifled and plundered, their Blood thirſted after, their poor Wives forced to fly, ſome into mountains and wilderneſs, ſome by Sea, ſome one way, ſome another; their poor Children forced to ſtarve, or beg at beſt; O barbarous*

and inhumane Cruelty, more beſeeming Cannibals than Chriſtians! When the Lord's Prophets were hurt and wronged, was the Lord's Anointed not touched? Tell it not in *Gath*, publiſh it not in the ſtreets of *Askalon*, leſt the Daughters of the Philiſtims rejoyce, leſt the Daughters of the uncircumciſed triumph. *The beſt of Kings, in whom malice it ſelf, how quick-ſighted ſoever, cannot find any thing blame-worthy, (except it be a Crime to be too good and tranſcendently clement) hath been forced to flie from his Palaces, could not find Safety in that City, enlightened and enriched by his royal Preſence, to the Admiration and Envy of the whole World. His royal Conſort neceſſitated, for perſonal Security, and in a prudential way to provide for ſtrengthening her Lord, the beſt of Husbands, to flie beyond Seas. That Royal Family, thoſe Olive-branches, the Pledges and Hopes of our continuing Peace, divided one from another, and to this day remaining ſo. His Revenues, his Caſualties ſeized by thoſe have ſent out Armies and Arms againſt him. His Forts, his ſtrong Holds taken from him, his Royal Navy employed to deſtroy him, keep all Encouragement of Allies from him, and to divorce perſonally (if they could) thoſe royal Perſonages in whom we are moſt happy, if we had Eyes to ſee it whom in Heart and Affection the Devil and his Malice cannot divide, notwithſtanding it hath been ſhrewdly endeavoured. More of this kind might be added, but of purpoſe I forbear it.*

If we will conſider what private men have gained, ſince God and Religion have been wronged, we will find we have made an unhappy Choice, a miſerable Change. No man hath Protection or Direction by Law, no known Law hath place, we are all oppreſſed and tyrannically over-ruled by an arbitrary Power, placed in a wrong hand; all Religions (if I may call Sects ſo) are tolerated, except the true Catholick Reformed Religion; and all

He-

Hereſies buried long ago in Hell, are revived, in number like to be more, and in their nature more ugly than all recorded by Epiphanius *and St.* Auſtin; *our Sectaries agreeing only in the deſtructive part, to make away Truth and the true Government, to ſpoil Churches, rob Chriſt of his Patrimony, abrogate the Solemnity of the Worſhip, deſtroy ancient Chriſtian Monuments: but in the poſitive not one agreeing with another;* Ephraim *ſmiting* Manaſſeh, *and* Manaſſeh, Ephraim, *and both of them againſt* Judah. *Hath any now the Liberty of his Perſon? are not the beſt of Subjects, the beſt of God's Servants kept in Priſons, like to* Jeremie's *Dungeon? What Property is reſerved? Since Chriſt's Patrimony hath been deſpoiled, who can ſay,* This I have? *They command what portion, what* quota *they will, and in the end he will be a Malignant at Pleaſure, that hath any thing to maintain this Rebellion. If S.* Auſtin *were living now, he might well ſay,* Quod non capit Chriſtus, hoc rapit fiſcus. *What ſtately Houſes have been ſpoiled? What rich and princely Furniture hath been deſtroyed? What Blood of Nobles and generous Gentry hath been ſhed? More in this uncivil Rebellion, in this ſhort time, than in many years in long continuing Wars in many Countries beyond Seas: this Loſs cannot be valued, it infinitely ſurpaſſes all other Loſſes beſides. And yet give me leave to ſay it, if we will look upon the Preſſures and Sufferings of the Subject, the only Effects we feel of this glorious ſo much talked of Reformation, they will tranſcend highly all Grievances complained of in the ſucceſſive Reigns of ſeven Sovereigns. And the greateſt of all Judgments have fallen, upon us, that ſome ſort with the Prophet* Hoſea, We have no King, becauſe we feared not the Lord, what then ſhould a King do to us? They have ſpoken words, ſwearing falſely in making a Covenant: thus Judgment ſpringeth up as Hemlock in the Furrows of the Field. *Hoſ.* 10. 3. 4. *A Redreſs of theſe Diſorders, a Remedy*

of

of these Evils, we need not to expect, till we turn to God by Repentance, and Moses *and* Aaron *be again rightly seated in their Power, their Place.*

My Lord, I have put Pen to Paper to right our gracious Sovereign, to undeceive his Subjects, making it appear, that his Right is independent from man, solely dependent from God: that Monarchy is the most countenanced, the most authorised Spece of Government by Almighty God; that the conveyance of this Right is not by Trust from the People; and have cleared, what are Jura Majestatis, *the Prerogatives inherent in the Crown, incommunicable to the Subject; and how Sacred his Person and Charge is, that they cannot be opposed, are not to be resisted. A task it is above my strength. In the Imperial Law it is a crime mixt with Sacrilege, to argue the Right and Power of the King; nor was it allowed to every vulgar and ordinary Pencil to draw the Picture of* Alexander *the Great: and we see what advantage the Seditious and Factious have made of the escapes of some Pens: Notwithstanding I am necessitated to meddle with it, with no less constraining and unavoidable necessity, than that made the young dumb Prince speak. All men are tied to the maintenance of Sovereign Right, none amongst men more than Church-men; it is a necessary truth, as aptly, plentifully, and purposely set forth in Gods Word as any else, Prince and Priest were once joyned in one Person, and are so tied that* Alterius

Altera poscit opem res, & conspirat amicè.

We find onely three Office-bearers anointed by God, King, Priest, and Prophet; who then more tied to maintain the Lord's Anointed and his Right than Priests and Prophets? God hath honoured Kings to be the Nurse-fathers of his Church; nor when we reflect upon by-gone Story, find we that ever the Church had either Beauty, Plenty, or Progress, but under Monarchy; and view this day the condition

dition of the Chriſtian Church under any other Government than Monarchy, and we will find her condition but ſorry and poor. It is the onely Government which is moſt commenanced and magnified in Holy Writ. And I dare to ſay, that none or all of them who ever writ purpoſely of Politicks, or in an Hiſtorical way laid down Political Maxims, whether it be Plato *in his fancied Republick, or* Ariſtotle *in his Politicks, or* Cicero, *or* Livie, *or* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, *or* Cornelius Tacitus, *or who beſides, either by Art or Story, is moſt renowned this way, have given us ſo fully, ſo apertly, the Right of Monarchy, the true preſcript of Government, and perfect Rule of Obedience to the Subject. The Ancient Fathers and Martyrs, whilſt Emperours were Heatheniſh and Perſecutors, have delivered this Doctrine, pleaded the Sacred Royal Prerogative of Emperours, and with other Truths have ſealed this with their Blood. Who can deny then, but it beſeemeth a Divine moſt of all men to maintain or write of this ſubject? A wonder then it is that ſome Smatterers in Divinity writing in this ſubject, do borrow Principles from old Poetical Fables and Toyes, make premiſes, and infer Concluſions, not onely deſtructive of Monarchy, but alſo contradictory to that Truth Scripture hath revealed. Like to them are our Pettifoggers in the Law, (I reverence Learned Jureconſults, who deſerved well in this ſubject) who cry out, what have Church-men to do to diſpute the King's Right? that belongeth to us, who are verſed in the Laws of the Kingdom, and know what Power the Law alloweth the King, what not; theſe Ignaroes, who are better verſed in the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, than in the Acts of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, may even as well go about not to authorize the Book of God, except it be warranted by their Law, as to aver that the King hath nothing immediately from God, nor no Sacred Right but what He hath by Law. More learned Lawyers than they can be, as* Bodin, Barclay, *and others, have treated of this*

this matter, and made as good Uſe of Scripture and Holy Fathers writing, as any other Warrant beſides.

It is more than evident then, that no men are more obliged, no men may be more fitted to maintain the Royal Prerogative of Kings than Divines. But Officiis quis idoneus iſtis *? I confeſs my weakneſs, my inſufficiency, and am forced to have recourſe to a Patron worthy of it, and able to maintain it. I could hit upon no ſubject more worthy of ſo great a Perſonage as you are, nor a Patron ſo worthy, ſo enabled to maintain it and its poor Author, as your Lordſhip. Nobles are amongſt Subjects the firſt-born; the ennobled amongſt the* Romans *had a badge of a Moon or Creſcent, in* Plutarch's *judgment not ſo much to ſignifie the inſtability or frailty of their Place and Honour, as to put them in mind to be obedient and loyal to their Prince, the Fountain of their high Dignity, as the Sun is to the Moon; for your high Nobility by a long continued race tranſmitted to you from moſt noble Anceſtours, to write or recite it, were as to light a candle to add light to the Sun in his ſtrength, in his vertical point, and that tranſmitted ſo from them, and derived to you, that in that whole Stem, the Root and all Branches, who inherited the Honour, not any tainted with Diſloyalty. Nay; their Honour is higher, ſome of them have had the honour to dye in the higheſt Bed of Honour, to loſe their Lives and great State and Honour for Loyalty to Royalty This is nothing yet but* εὐγένεια, *the ſplendour of Birth, the glory due to thoſe of whom you are deſcended.*

Plutarch. in Probl. Prob. 72.

Nam genus & Proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra voco.

True Nobility, beſides theſe, requireth not onely the inheritance of Riches, (for that is but Antiquæ & inveteratæ Divitiæ, *as* Athlary *writ to the Senate of* Rome) *with the inheritance of Honour, for that it is a Body empty of a living Soul; but it is to inherit*

Caſſiod. l. 8. Var. c. 19.

rit the Noble Honour of Noble and Generous Anceſtours. Nobile (*ſaith* Ariſtotle) id eſt quod ex bono genere prodit, generoſum quod à ſua natura non degeneravit. *Herein you all meet, for Honour and Virtue do conteſt for the Excellency, but Virtue truly hath the Eminency. In you is verified that of the* Lyrick *Poet.*

1 *de nat. anim. c.1.*

Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis:
Eſt in juvencis, eſt in equis Patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Malice it ſelf, how ingeniouſly witty ſoever, cannot prejudice you in this, whoſe Piety is admirable, whoſe Wiſdom and Prudence is above Age, above the ordinary and all your Equals, a maſter of your Paſſions, and ſo experienced in matters of State and Government, that it is a wonder to them who know you, and incredible to thoſe that have not been eye and ear witneſſes. Your Heroical magnanimity ſpeaketh it ſelf in your Heroick Martial Acts, admired not onely by excellent Commanders, not onely for Courage, but for Prudence and rare Goverument; by which you gained ſo much, that the valiant Annibals *and* Scipioes *there would rather ſacrifice themſelves, than expoſe You to Danger; and yet you would not act the General, but by doing the valiant Acts, contemning Dangers and Death, beſeeming inferiour Officers, but worthy of the greateſt* Cæſar. *Who can conſider aright that more than admirable piece of Prudence in that Treaty of Ceſſation in ſuch a time and ſuch a caſe, where You were ſo aſſaulted with two of the worſt extremes of Opinions, enraged both of them with the ſame degree of madneſs, but muſt ſay that is true* Cicero *ſaid de nat. deor.* Nullus unquam magnus vir fuit ſine afflatu divino: *The intelligent and better ſort muſt confeſs, that without a great mercy to us*

and

and more than ordinary Favour from God, this could not have been effected: The better ſort are confident, the happy Effects of that Work will make many Souls live, and Your Honour live for ever. Theſe are the Load-ſtones of all the Honour, the Love and Zeal which have neceſſitated me to take recourſe to Your Honour's Patrocine, that what is deficient in me, and this poor trifling Treatiſe, may be compenſed by that eminent Worth and Perfection is in You. I do confeſs, I have ſo many ties by perſonal Favours received above my deſert, that I were the ingrateſt of Chriſtians if I did not acknowledge it; yet give me leave to ſpeak truth, notwithſtanding all theſe Endowments, if I had not ſeen, and were not aſſured, that in none in this Age there can be ſeen more true diſcreet Zeal to Chriſt's Church, and Loyalty to Your Maſter, our moſt gracious King, I had never preſumed to go this way. I ſee it, even there and then, where and when Satan had erected his Throne, and Antipas, *God and the King's faithful Servant did ſuffer.*

My Lord, God hath ſent You to us for a comfort in theſe worſt of Chriſtian times; who knoweth but at this time You are ſet at the Helm to help the Lord, right his Anointed, and to ſave a poor Church threatned with ruine? Go on in Your Piety and Devotion, with theſe Heroical Endowments God hath enabled You, and be aſſured God will heap Honour on you and your Noble Family for ever, and reward you with an uncorrupt, undefiled, and Eternal Crown of Glory: Which ſhall be the fervent and conſtant Prayers of

Your Lordſhips moſt humble
and bounden Servant

J. A.

TO

To the Christian Reader.

CHristian Reader, this is an Extemporary Piece, which was extorted by the importunity of Friends; who prevailed so far with me, that I chose rather to expose my Weakness and it to the Censure of the World, than uncourteously refuse them. To strengthen Truth, I was able to bring more Zeal and good Affection than any other Abilities. Believe, I write nothing but that I am assured of in Conscience, *in certitudine mentis*, and which I believe to be really certain, *in certitudine entis*. God knows, I am far from temporizing, and he is of weak apprehension, that in this Distemper can expect any great Reward by appearing in Publick to maintain this Sacred Truth; Experience teacheth us, that it is more advantageous to run the contrary course, if a good Conscience could allow it. If the method in handling and proposing these five enfuing Questions be not so orderly, I beg pardon; and that justly, because I follow the Order proposed by the Observator. If the Diction be not so terse and pregnant, I am not able to help it; for by nature I am not enabled to delicate and witty Expressions, nor have I endeavoured by Industry to help those natural Defects. My care was ever to study Truth and Reality, more than flowers of Eloquence, holding that for one (as I am) of small reach, the better way is rather to be *inter reales*, than *inter nominales*. If there be any tart Expression, construe it charitably, as fallen by inadvertence from my Pen, whereas there was no Gall in my Heart. If any will be at pains to examine it critically, and to answer it rationally and fully,

I humbly intreat him to do it in a Christian and Charitable way, without Passion, for which I shall heartily thank him: And if I be not able with as much reason to answer him, I shall not be ashamed to retract my Errours, and joyn Heart, Hand, and Pen, for him and all Christian Sacred Truth; of which kind I hold those which I would maintain, to be. If any thing in it give thee content, thank God for it, and pray for Grace and Strength to the weak Author, who hath resolved to be a Lover, a Professor, and a maintainer of Truth according to his Power, at whatsoever peril, to advance the true Reformed Catholick Religion, and what may conduce to the Honour of our Church, to the overthrow of that is truly Popery, and to the regaining of all erring Sectaries to the Communion of this Church. And let all of us put up our hearty and humble Prayers to Almighty God to touch our Hearts, that we may endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace; to do good in his good pleasure unto *Sion*, to build up the Walls of *Jerusalem*, to re-establish his Anointed, our Sovereign in His Throne and Right, to set aright what is disjoynted in Church and State, that all of us may be happy here, and receive that Crown of Glory, which the righteous Judge hath laid up for them that love him, his Truth, and Christian Peace.

——— *Si quid novisti rectius istis*
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

Elen-

Elenchus Quæstionum.

Quæstio Prima.

Whether or not the King be onely and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the Body of the People, diffusive, collective, representative, or virtual? Affirmatur.

Quæstio Secunda.

Whether or not God is no more Author of Regal, than of Aristocratical and Democratical Power? Of Supreme, then of Subordinate Command? and whether or not that Dominion which is usurped, while it remains Dominion, and till it be legally divested again, refers to God as its Author and Donor, as much as that which is hereditary? Negatur.

Quæstio Tertia.

Whether or not the nature of conveyance of Sovereignty to the King, is by Trust immediately from the People, and mediately onely from God, and as Fiduciary, so Conditionate, and proportioned to what measure or portion the People please? or is it intirely and immediately by a Trust devolved upon him from the King of Kings? Neg. prius, Aff. posterius.

Quæstio Quarta.

Whether or not be there any Jura Majestatis, *some Divine Prerogatives, intrinsecally inherent in the Kings Crown and Sovereignty, which are incommunicable to the Subjects?* Aff. *Where is explained what they be.*

Quæstio Quinta.

Whether or not in any case, upon any reason, just or pretended, it be lawful for the Subject or Subjects, in what Notion soever imaginable, singly or joyntly, collectively or representatively, to oppose the Sacred Authority of the King, by Force or Arms, or to resist him, either in a Defensive or Offensive way? Neg.

Elenchus Capitum,
QUESTIONIS PRIMÆ.

THE *Preface*: Page 1. *containing the Sum, Method, and Order of the ensuing Treatise.*

Chap. I.

Wherein is maintained, that the King is onely and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the Body of the People, diffusive, collective, representative, or virtual. The contrary Opinion is explained, the Authors and Asserters, some of them, with their differences, are recited. Pag. 9.

Chap. II.

How that God is the immediate Author of Sovereignty in the King, and how he is no Creature of the Peoples making, is explained and proved by Scriptures. 30.

Chap. III.

The same Truth is proved by more Arguments from Holy Scripture. 57.

Chap. IV.

That Kings are onely dependent from God, and not from the Community, is further proved by Scripture. The poor shifts of Suarez *and* Bellarmine *are removed, who, abusing the passage,* Deut. 17. *would have the constitution of the Kings of* Israel *to relate to the People, as its real and proper origine and Cause; and the priviledged case onely this, that God reserved to himself the designation of the Person of the King.* 62.

Chap. V.

That all Christian Kings are dependent from Christ, and may be called his Vicegerents, is proved. 85.

Chap. VI.

That the King is solely dependent from God and Christ, and independent from all others, is proved by the Suffrages of the Holy Fathers. 116.

Chap.

Elenchus Capitum.

Chap. VII.

That the Government of mankind is eſtabliſhed by God, and is neceſſary Jure Naturæ, *is proved by Reaſon againſt thoſe that hold that all Government is arbitrary, of the voluntary conſtitution and compoſition of men.* 126.

Chap. VIII.

That Sovereignty is not by derivation from the Community, is proved by more reaſons. 141.

Chap. IX.

That Sovereignty is not derived to the King from the People, communicativè, *by communication, ſo that they may reſume it in ſome caſes, is proved by Reaſon.* 154.

Chap. X.

Wherein the truth of our Tenet is by more Reaſons aſſerted, the contrary Errour diſproved, and the abſurdities in the Sectaries Paradox involved, are diſcovered. 164.

Chap. XI.

Scripture by Example teacheth us, that Kings of the Peoples making have not had Gods bleſſing, but have ruined their Makers. 180.

Chap. XII.

Wherein three grounds of our Adverſaries are taken off and diſproved. As, 1. *That the interpoſing of an humane act in the conſtitution of a King, doth not hinder the Sovereignty to be immediately from God.* 2. *Next, the inconſequence of that Sophiſm; A private man may make away his perſonal Liberty, and enſlave himſelf to another,* Ergo, *a People or Multitude may do the like, and inveſt a King with Sovereignty, is detected.* 3. *The true ſenſe of* Quiſque naſcitur liber *is given, and the falſe gloſs of the Adverſaris is diſcovered.* 189.

Chap. XIII.

The Maxim, Quod efficit tale, eſt magis tale; *or* Propter quod unumquodque tale, ipſum magis tale; *or* Conſtituens conſtituto potior, *is examined,* 200.

Elenchus Capitum.

Chap. XIV.

Other grounds of the Jesuits and Sectaries are removed and disproved; as that, that neither Scripture nor Nature determine the Specification of Government; nor do they intimate why this man more than the other, or he than a third; or these more than those, should have the Power of Government. And that great one is taken out of the way, where by the variety and difference is found in several Monarchies, it is more than apparent, say they, that Monarchy is κατὰ συνθήκην, by the voluntary composition and constitution of man. 209.

Chap. XV.

Wherein is examined the Jesuits Maxim, that every Society of Mankind is a perfect Republick; and consequently the Community may supply and rectifie the Defects and Errours of Sovereignty. And the Puritans too, that if there were not such a Power and Superintendency to supply, God had left man remediless. 230.

Chap. XVI.

Wherein is examined that Maxim, Salus Populi suprema Lex esto. *And the other, that the People may be without a King, but a King cannot be without People.* 248.

Chap. XVI.

As the King hath an high Calling by immediate donation from God, so hath He an high Charge with his Prerogative, to be as eminent in Sanctity, as He is excellent and Sacred in Power. 283.

ΣΥΝ

ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩ.

Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas:

OR,

The Sacred and Divine Right, and Prerogative of KINGS.

The Sum, Method, and Order of the ensuing Treatise.

IT is not my Purpose at this time, to examine and refute the Opinions and Errours of those, who either totally or partially, have spoken against Government, as the *Fratricelli* in the Judgment of some, who alledging their Independency from man, and assuming to themselves an immediate Being or Derivation from Christ, no less than the Apostles, and every way as perfect, would submit and subject themselves to none. Our Independent Ministry looks this way. Or as the *Begardi*, who did hold that the Government of Superiours was only for the more imperfect, but have no Authority over and above the perfect. *Nec Rex, nec Lex justo posita*: No Superiour, No Law for the Saints, the holy ones, the perfect ones. It feareth me this Age fancieth to it self some such thing; and have learned it of *Korah, Dathan*, and

Abiram, who have gathered themselves together, against Moses and against Aaron, and say unto them, ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift you up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord. Both these Sects were about the end of the thirteenth Age and beginning of the fourteenth Age.

Nor purpose we to meddle with that mad Heresie, of the Anabaptists, who condemn all Government whatsoever as sinful and unlawful. It is an impious blasphemous Error, destructive not only of humane Society but mankind it self. You may read in it their *Antitheses Christi veri & falsi*, published in *Transilvania, Anno 1568.* The seventh of which is, *That the false Christ hath in his Church, Kings, Princes, Magistrates, and the Sword: but the true Christ hath none, nor alloweth any of those.* We presuppose all with whom we are to enter in Lists, do willingly grant, *That Government is not only Lawful and Just, but necessary both for Church and Commonwealth.*

Neither intend we to refute that erroneous and pernicious tenet of some who held that, *Dominium fundatur in gratia*, that the right of Dominion is founded in Grace or any other supernatural Gift. For it is certain, it is neither founded, 1. *In gratia praedestinationis* in the Grace of Predestination: 2. nor, *In gratia gratum faciente*, in that Grace which is in the stating of a man in the actual Condition of Grace and Salvation: 3. nor, *In dono aliquo supernaturali gratia infuso*, in any supernatural infused Grace, as soundness of Faith and profession of the Truth, or I cannot tell what Character of Christianism they fansie to themselves. Whether or not the *Waldenses*, *Wiclife* and *Hus* held any Tenet like to these, I cannot now insist to prove

or disprove it. But sure I am, if the Writers of the *Roman* Church do not wrong, some of their own have said some like thing. As *Henry* the Cardinal B. of *Ostia*, who lived about the year 1260. averreth, that Soundness of Faith and Profession of the Truth, is *fundamentum Dominii*. *Armachanus de Paupertate Christi* saith, that *fundatur in gratia gratum faciente*. Nor will I take the Pains to examine *Gerson* the Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, who lived in the time of the Councel of *Constance*, who *de vita spirit.* consid. 15. and others after following him, did hold that the Just did acquire a new Title and Right to what they possess either *in Dominion of Propriety or Jurisdiction*. If any desire to have more Satisfaction in this point, I refer them to the *Casuists*, where they treat *de Subjecto Dominii*; pity it is that too many do confidently hold these or the like Tenets, and in a worse sense than *Gerson*, for his Tenet with a little benign Interpretation, may pass for tolerable if not warrantable.

Nor is it fit or pertinent for us now, to refute the Errour of the *Canonists* and others, who hold, that *Directum Dominium*, the direct and primarie power supream, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical is in the Pope as Christs Vicar upon earth, immediately from Christ derived unto him, and from Him to all Kings whatsoever, mediately by Dependence and Subordination. The Jesuits are ashamed of this: and therefore will have the Pope only to have *Indirectum Imperium*, *an Indirect Directive and Coercive power*, over all Kings and States, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, as civil Power and Businesses are related to Religion and Salvation. It is a curious subtle quirk and nicity of Scholastick Invention, and a jugling Trick to bring all Kings, (Christian at Least) Kingdoms and States, into Subordination

and Subjection, to the tranſcendent and extravagant power of the Pope; nor doth this Expreſſion differ from the other, *in re*, in the matter or extent of the Power, but, *in modo rei*, in the manner of the thing, as they claim it. And cometh fully home, that the Pope by this indirect Right of his related to Religion, by which, any civil Act or Buſineſs whatſoever, with his School Formalities, he may qualifie with ſuch an Ordination and Relation to Spirituals, that directly by this indirect power, he may King and Unking at his Pleaſure. Our Presbyterians if they run not fully in this way, they are very near to it. I wiſh we were ſo happy this time, as that we had not to do with other Impugners of Sacred and Royal Authority, but Jeſuits and Canoniſts.

That which we have propoſed to our ſelves, in this ſhort enſuing Treatiſe, is to conſider the main grounds by which the Jeſuit and Puritan endeavour by no leſs ſpurious than ſpecious Pretexts, of Liberty of the People and Subject, of the reforming of Religion, purging it from Error, preſerving it in Purity, to rob Kings of their Sacred and divine Right & Prerogative: making them Derivatives from the People, in whom they will have all Supream Power originally and radically primarily ſeated: So that if Kings fail in Performance of their Duty, the People may ſupply it, at leaſt in ſome caſes, may do it of themſelves: Nay that Kings are accountable to them as to their Superiours, cenſurable, puniſhable, and dethronable too. By which the Copy-hold of a Crown is no better than *Durante beneplacito plebis* or *communitatis*, during the good Will of the Community, for by theſe mens Principles the People are made Judges, and may find exigents, which will warrant them to reſume, and to exer-

exerciſe this power. Puritan and Jeſuit in this, not only conſent and concur, but like *Herod* and *Pilate* are reconciled to crucifie the Lords anointed. A thouſand pities it is, that our Sectaries, pretending ſuch a Zeal againſt Popery, and who no leſs maliciouſly than confidently rub upon ſound Proteſtants, the Aſperſions of Popery and Malignancy, do joyn with the worſt of Papiſts, in the worſt at leaſt moſt pernicious Doctrines of Papiſts. But ten thouſand times more pity it is, that the true reformed and ſound Proteſtant Religion ſhould ſuffer by ſuch miſcreants, that ſound Proteſtants ſhould be charged with theſe Hereſies in after Ages. We will be forced to diſclaim them, and ſay with St. *John*: *They were amongſt us, but were not of us*, and *they have gone out from us*. It is not warrantable to be ſo large in our charitable Defence of any, as to prejudice the inviolable and ſacred Truth of Almighty God.

Our work is to examine and diſcuſs ſome new deviſed State-principles, ſet on foot in this diſtempered Age, which have robbed Church and State of Peace and Happineſs, which theſe Kingdoms of late and long Continuance, have plentifully enjoyed under the Government of our bleſſed King and his Predeceſſors, to the Envy of other neighbour Kingdoms and States.

Theſe may all of them be reduced to five great ones. 1. Firſt, that Royal Authority is originally and radically in the People, from them by Conſent derived to Kings immediately, mediately only from God. That the Collation or Donation of the Power is from the Community, The Approbation only from God. 2. The ſecond, that God is no more Author of Regal than of Ariſtocratical and Democratical Power; of Supreme than of Subordinate: and that Dominion which is

uſurped and not juſt, while it remains Dominion, and till it be legally again diveſted, refers to God as to its Author and Donor, as much as that which is hereditary. 3. The third, that Sovereignty and Power in a King is by Conveyance from the People, by a Truſt devolved upon him, and that it is conditionate, fiduciary, and proportioned according as it pleaſeth the Community to entruſt more or leſs. 4. The fourth, that Royal Power in a King is not ſimply ſupreme, but in ſome caſes there is a co-ordinate Power or collateral; nay, that in ſome caſes the King is ſubordinate to the Community. 5. The fifth and laſt is, that the King in ſome caſes may be reſiſted and oppoſed by Violence, Force, and Arms, at leaſt in a defenſive way.

Theſe are the main Foundations upon which all thoſe impious Courſes are built, and which have had ſuch Influence upon diſaffected and leſs knowing Subjects, to raiſe and cheriſh theſe Diſtempers and Rebellions, for which all ſound-hearted and good Subjects mourn. Yet to add the more Luſtre to them, there be couched under them, or added to them, a number of ſpecious general Maxims apt to enſnare the popular Faction, which we ſhall by Gods help clear and demonſtrate to be Untruths and popular Sophiſms, as they offer in their own proper place. The contrary of what they affirm, we hold to be ſound Divinity, agreeable to the Truth revealed in Scripture, conſonant to the Tenets and Practice of the ancient Chriſtian Church, and grounded upon ſound Reaſon, deducted out of nature and the beſt Inſtitutions of Policy and Government.

That we may the more orderly proceed, we ſum up all into five Queſtions; whereof the firſt is this, Whether or not Sovereignty or the Royal Power of a King

King be independent from all Creatures, ſolely and only dependent from God; immediately from him, and neither from the Community, the diffuſive, collective, repreſentative, or vertual Bodie of the People? In which by Gods grace we will make it appear, that the King is the *derivative* of the *primative* King, *who is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.*

The ſecond is, Whether or not, God is no more Author of Royal Power, than of Ariſtocratical or Democratical? Of ſupreme than ſubordinate? Of uſurped and not juſt, than of juſt Government and Regal? In which it will appear, that by Gods Inſtitution Regal is graced and authoriſed above others: that Ariſtocracy, Democracy, and Monarchy are not, *Species univocæ regiminis, ſed analogicæ*, not univocal Kinds and Species of Government, but equivocal, at beſt analogical; are, howſoever tolerable, and not ſo perfect, ſome way defective, and that they degenerate from the true and moſt perfect Species of Government, Monarchy, in which is *formalis & completa gubernandi ratio*, the moſt formal and compleat Eſſence of Government.

The third is, Whether or not, Sovereignty and Royalty be in a King by Conveyance of Truſt, fiduciary and conditionate iſſuing from the People, by a Truſt devolved upon him in that portion it pleaſeth them to proportion? In which will be evident, that the Truſt of Sovereignty and Government is by God devolved upon the King. That all Sovereignty related to God is fiduciary and conditionate, but related to the People is abſolute.

The fourth is, Whether or not by divine Inſtitution any man or men, ſome few or many, have any co-ordinate, co-equal, or collateral Power with the Sovereignty of Royalty? Or whether or not in any caſe

or exigent, a King can be ſubordinate? In the Reſolution of which Queſtion fitly and conveniently will be diſcuſſed, that *In quo formale Imperii conſiſtit*, that in which the eſſence of Sovereignty doth conſiſt; and without which it cannot ſubſiſt; as that it is *ſupreme, perpetual*, and freed from *all coercive and coactive Power*, which the *Hebrews* call *Imperium majus*, the Politicks κυρίον πολίτευμα.

The fifth and laſt is, Whether or not in any caſe it is lawful for Subjects, one, any, more, or all to oppoſe a Prince?

Quæſtio

Quæſtio prima.

Whether or not, the King be only and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the Body of the People, diffuſive, collective, repreſentative, or vertual?

CHAP. I.

The Affirmative is maintained, the contrary Opinion is explained, the Authors and Aſſertors, ſome of them with their Differences, are recited.

WE hold the Affirmative, that the King is only and immediately dependent from Almighty God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and independent in his Sovereignty and Power, from the Community in what Notion ſoever you conceive it, either as a *diffuſive, collective, repreſentative, or vertual Body.*

The Jeſuit and Puritan to depreſs Kings aver, *that all Power is originally, radically, and formally inherent in the People or Community*, and *from thence is derived to the King.* In the explaining of this Propoſition, there is amongſt thoſe who lay this Foundation for the building of their *Babel* a great Latitude of Diverſity. Lately I read in one, who is the Author of the Tract concerning Schiſm and Schiſmaticks, *pag.* 29. *We have believed him that hath told us*, that *in Chriſt Jeſus there is neither high nor low, and that in giving Honour, every man ſhould be ready to prefer another before himſelf: which ſaying cuts off all claim certainly of Superiority by*

Title

Title of Chriſtianity, except men think that theſe things were ſpoken only to poor and private men. Nature and Religion agree in this, that neither of them hath an hand in this Herauldry of Secundùm ſub & ſupra, *all this comes from Compoſition and Agreement amongſt themſelves.* I have given you his words, I ſhould be glad to be miſtaken, and crave him Mercy. But as I conceive him, this Poſition is worſe than any I know of the Jeſuits, or more moderate Sectaries; both of them acknowledge a Neceſſity of Government is taught by Nature and Grace, and that the Diſtinction of Superiority and Inferiority is the dictate of common Reaſon and Religion: Otherwiſe neither Nature nor Religion may avoid Confuſion or Deſtruction. God who is the God of Order and not of Confuſion, is the Author of this Herauldry, of *Secundum ſub & ſupra*, in the whole Univerſe, in Church, in State. Hath not God in the moral Law taught it, *Honora Patrem, &c.* Honour thy Father, &c? Do not St. *Paul* and St. *Peter Rom.* 13. 1. *Pet.* 2. 14. *v.* command this as the Will of God? And did not our Saviour practiſe it, and his Apoſtles after him, and after them all the Chriſtian Church? You muſt take away humane Society in Church and State, if you take away this Herauldry of Superiority and Inferiority. Sure I am, the Jeſuits do hold that Government is *ex jure naturæ*, by the Law of Nature. I hope our Sectaries think no worſe in this point than the Jeſuits.

I return to the Jeſuit and Puritan, who are very like in this Tenet; but give me Leave to ſay, for as bad as the Jeſuit is, in my conceiving the Puritan is worſe. Let us make a parallel. 1. Firſt, the Jeſuit ſays, that all Power civil, is radically and originally ſeated in the Community or Multitude, God having made it the *Primum ſubjectum*, the firſt Subject in

which

which it is ſeated. The Puritan joyneth hands here with the Jeſuit. 2. Next, both of them ſay, it is from the Multitude by way of Collation and Donation to one, as in Monarchy, to ſome as in Ariſtocracy, to many as in Democracy; ſo that immediately it is from the People, and mediately from God, and not ſo much by Collation, as by Approbation. How the Jeſuit and Puritan walk along in an unequal pace, See *Bellarmine, l. de Laicis, cap. 6. Suarez. Defenſ. Doctrinæ Orthod. contra Sectam Anglicanam, l. 3.* 3. Thirdly, that the People may change Monarchy into Ariſtocracy or Democracy, or an Ariſtocracy into a Monarchy, or Democracy, or *è contra*, which way you will; for ought I know, they differ not in this neither. 4. But ſome of our new State-Divines, do hold that this Power is derived to the King from the People, *Cumulativè* or *Communicativè*, *non Privativè*, by way of Communication or Cumulation, but not by way of Privation; that is, howſoever the People communicate this Sovereignty to the King by truſt, yet they denude not themſelves of this Sovereignty. To make it plain, it is in their Opinion no otherwiſe than as when the King of *England* appoints a Lieutenant, Deputy, or High Commiſſioner of *Ireland* or *Scotland*, he denudes not himſelf of his Royal Power, but delegates them with Power and Truſt for his Service. If this be their mind, (for I cannot conjecture at any other, and if they have any other Senſe, I wiſh they would make it plain) the King is in a poor caſe, by ſuch a derived Power: for then as the King of *England* giving to his Deputy or Deputies that power only *cumulativè*, he cannot by Reaſon or Law, ſeeing *Potior eſt delegantis quam delegati authoritas*, that the Principal his Authority is more excellent than he delegate's, nor can he be

be debarred from that right the *Law of Nations* giveth him, *Anticipatione, concurſu* or *evocatione*, by procognition, his own proper entire Right, or Evocation, to determine or judge in any thing that concerneth that His Kingdom. If they authorize the People ſo, let any that hath common Senſe judge in what Condition theſe new-ſtate-divines do put Kings. 4. They aver (which maketh me the more inclinable to conceive that to be their mind, which before we have expreſſed) that the ſame Sovereign Power is, (Howſoever derived from the Community to the King) in the people *ſuppletivè*, that is, that if the King be deficient in neceſſary Duties of Government for the good of the Church and State, the People by their innate power, may do and ſupply it. This our Rabbies have not only taught but practiſed here and elſewhere in his Majeſties Dominions; yet in my poor reading I have not found any Jeſuit (although I confeſs by Deduction out of their Principles this Conſequent may be expreſſed) ſo roundly and right down to ſay it. It is true that *Bellarmine* ſaith in his Recognitions lib. 3. q. *de Laicis: populus nunquam ita ſuam poteſtatem in regem transfert, quin illam ſibi in habitu retineat: ut in certis caſibus etiam actu recipere poſſit: that the People do never ſo transfer their power into the King, but that they retain it to themſelves habitually: that in ſome certain Caſes they may reſume it.* I find a Tenet bad enough, impious enough, ſacrilegious enough, but he doth not ſay, that this power is transferred only *cumulatively*: Nor doth he talk of any *Suppletivè*, actual ſupply: Only he telleth of an *habitual retaining* in the People: and that *upon ſome caſes* they may reſume it, not in every ordinary caſe; nor can they do it. It is true, *Bellarmine* expreſſeth not the caſe or Caſes, He knew it to be difficult,

or

or would have it, it is like, to be a reſerved caſe for the Pope of *Rome*, when it pleaſeth him to determine or define it. But if we may gueſs at his mind by his Brother Jeſuit *Suarez*, read him lib. 3. *defenſ. orthod. fid.* c. 3. §. 2 and three. and there he telleth you, that he will have it definite and conſtant in Law, and that extant and evident: *vel antiquis & certis inſtrumentis, vel immutabili conſuetudine*, either by ancient and faithful Records of Law, or by unchangeable and not interrupted Cuſtom. If this cannot be produced, the only caſe he aſſigns is, *Si Rex ſua poteſtate in manifeſtam civitatis perniciem abutatur*, If the King evidently, apparently abuſe his Power and Sovereignty to the total Deſtruction of his Kingdom, (let none cavil that we Engliſh *Civitas* the whole Kingdom) comprehending King and Kingdom, for they that have but the Terms of Policy, know that *Civitas* is the whole Kingdom and State, with the King; and *Civis* the true *Latin* word for a Subject. He giveth his Reaſon why in ſuch a caſe this is lawful, *quia poteſt populus naturali poteſtate ad ſe defendendum uti, quia hac ſe nunquam privavit*: becauſe the People may uſe that power of ſelf-defence with which nature hath endowed them, for they did not diveſt themſelves of this power, nor was it transferred upon the King.

The Reſult of *Suarez*'s mind is, that if there be not Authentical uncontrolable Records, or immemorial and not interrupted Cuſtoms, to determine the Caſes, the Judges, the way of Procedure, the Bounds and Extent, *Quos ultra citraque*, How far and no farther; there is no caſe lawful or imaginable, but in the abuſe of Sovereignty to the total Deſtruction of King and Kingdom, which caſe as we think howſoever imaginable, yet *in facto eſſe*, it is impoſſible, as we will ſhew after

after in the last Question that this is not warrantable By Gods Institution, nor doth the Charter of Nature entitle us to this Right of self-defence, in this Case to make away, nay, to resist a King. And observe how warily the Jesuit qualifies his case. First it must not be a feared or conjectured case of Ruine and Destruction to King and Kingdom, but manifest and clear as the Sun-shine. Next, That not any case of Injustice, Oppression or Tyranny, doth warrant them to do or act this, but a manifest actual overthrowing of the whole Kingdom, King and all Subjects. *Gerson* and others of the Parisian Doctors, qualifie the case thus: 1. That it is necessary, that he intend and Attempt the total overthrow and Destruction of the Kingdom. 2. Next, that a jealousie or conjectural Evidence is not sufficient, I must be manifest, as evident as it were written with a Ray of the Sun. 3. To these two must be added invincible and insuperable Obstinacy, which cannot by humble Reverence, Deprecation, Supplication, or any other means else, which becometh a Subject to use in all Reverence, Prudence, and Submission to a Prince be amended. Let God and good men judge, if our case this day be so circumstanced and qualified. Thirdly it is worth our noting, that he speaks not of resuming Soveraignity to the People as to it's proper owner, by which this Resistance or Censure is to be done: but of a natural Power of self-defence, of which the People and Community were never deluded nor divested. That this is the Jesuits mind, appeareth yet more clearly by what followeth: for saith he, *it is not lawful to the People, to restrain or limit the Power which they have once transmitted and committed to the King, Quia Lex justitiæ non permittit, quæ docet Legitima pacta non esse rescindenda, &*

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donationem ſemel abſolute factam revocari non poſſe, neque in totum, neq; ex parte, & maxime quando oneroſa ſunt; *The very Law of Common Equity alloweth not that Contracts, and Covenants ſhould be repealed; and what it once transferred by Donation, may not by the ſame Law be made void either in whole or in part, nay not when the Condition is to the Prejudice of the Donor.* He adds more, That Laws made by a Prince cannot be repealed or made void by the People or Community, without the tacite or expreſs Conſent and Allowance of the Prince. No, he adds more, that a Prince doth not *pendere a populo in ſua poteſtate, etiamſi ab ipſo eam acceperit, quia poterit pendere in fieri, & non poſtea pendere in conſervari*; Doth not depend from the People in his Sovereignty and power, although he had it from them; becauſe ſaith he, while he was a making, or to be made King, it was of them, but to continue to be ſo, it is not from them. Let me add, with this of *Suarez*, another paſſage of *Bellarmine*, where he contradicts that he ſpeaketh, which before we cited *Recognit. lib. 3, q. de laicis.* The Paſſage you have in his Tract againſt *Padre Paulo*, where he grants that a People or Community may have ſome power of approving or rejecting of a Preacher over them while he is a chuſing, or to be inſtituted, but not after he is choſen or appointed: He proveth this thus: *Quemadmodum*, ſaith he, *exercitus poterat approbare, aut reprobare perſonam quæ in Imperatorem promoveretur; ubi tamen Imperator factus eſſet, illum judicare non poterat; neque in illum ullam habet poteſtatem.* As of old amongſt the *Romans*, when the Armies or Souldiers did chooſe the Emperour, *The Army might accept or reject him that was to be created Emperour, but being made Emperour and inveſted in the Empire, the Army was no more his Judge, neither had*

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after in the last Question that this is not warrantable By Gods Institution, nor doth the Charter of Nature entitle us to this Right of self-defence, in this Case to make away, nay, to resist a King. And observe how warily the Jesuit qualifies his case. First it must not be a feared or conjectured case of Ruine and Destruction to King and Kingdom, but manifest and clear as the Sun-shine. Next, That not any case of Injustice, Oppression or Tyranny, doth warrant them to do or act this, but a manifest actual overthrowing of the whole Kingdom, King and all Subjects. *Gerson* and others of the Parisian Doctors, qualifie the case thus: 1. That it is necessary, that he intend and Attempt the total overthrow and Destruction of the Kingdom. 2. Next, that a jealousie or conjectural Evidence is not sufficient, I must be manifest, as evident as it were written with a Ray of the Sun. 3. To these two must be added invincible and insuperable Obstinacy, which cannot by humble Reverence, Deprecation, Supplication, or any other means else, which becometh a Subject to use in all Reverence, Prudence, and Submission to a Prince be amended. Let God and good men judge, if our case this day be so circumstanced and qualified. Thirdly it is worth our noting, that he speaks not of resuming Soveraignty to the People as to it's proper owner, by which this Resistance nor Censure is to be done: but of a natural Power of self-defence, of which the People and Community were never deluded nor divested. That this is the Jesuits mind, appeareth yet more clearly by what followeth: for saith he, *it is not lawful to the People, to restrain or limit the Power which they have once transmitted and conceded to the King, Quia Lex justitiæ non permittit, quæ dudum Legitimè facta non esse rescindenda, &*

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any Coercive or Coactive Power above him. Whilst the Cardinal was not ἀκλίνων, τῇ ὑποθέσει, wedded to the Conclusions of the *Roman* Sea, Truth and Honesty fell from his Pen. These things I observe not to plead for Jesuits, the bane of Christian Peace, nor that I think that there is more Honesty in them, than in a Puritan, but only to put our Sectaries in mind that howsoever their Tenets by Deductions and Consequences are tant amount as theirs, yet they are more wary and prudent than in their Expressions, for I never see how their *Communicative and Suppletive*, by the most benign Sense can suffer so favourable an Interpretation, as the Jesuits Tenets do. Besides our Sectaries have to consider, by how much more they deteriorate and depress Kings, committing or appropriating so extravagant a Power transcendent above them, to the Community or people, who are the weakest in Judgment, the most instable in their Resolutions and Conclusions, ready to cry to day *Hosanna*, and to Morrow *Crucifige*; ready to cry to *Gideon* now Reign thou and thy Son for ever over us, and incontinent joyn with *Sichem*, and his base Son *Abimelech*: kill his seventy Sons all of them, but *Jotham* who miraculously by Gods Providence escaped: who in Scripture are compared to the raging of the Sea, for their Violence and Impetuosity; and ever casting up dirt, for their Corruption: than doth the Jesuit who will not admit people shall do it, till the Pope take notice of it, as competent Judge by divine Appointment or made umpire by arbitrement. For sure I am, that the most solid and learned of the *Roman* Church do hold, that Subjects cannot by any be loosed from the Oath of Allegiance till the Pope do it. Again, I pray you to consider what Encouragement it is for Kings and Monarchs to become Nurse-

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fathers of the Reformed Church, when by our printing and practices we abaſe them ſo far as to make them the baſeſt extract can be derived from the Community; and that they are depoſable and dethronable by the People, upon any exigent they judge fitting. Will not any underſtanding Prince, chuſe rather to ſubmit and ſubject his Crown to the Popes Mitre, than to the Fury and Violence of an untamed Beaſt? Where Piety ſhould be, reaſon and Judgment may be, and if all be deficient, yet wrath may be ſooner in one, in him appeaſed, than in a *bellua multorum capitum*. His Avarice or Ambition ſooner ſatisfied than is imaginable, of that inſatiable Beaſt of the Community.

Fifthly, Our Gamaliels hold, that as this Soverelgn Power is originally, formally, radically, inherent in the People, ſo it is *Reductive* by way of Reduction theirs, that is, in caſe of total Defailance of a King and his Poſterity, or in caſe a King by juſt demerit, *excidat jure ſuo*, forfeit his Right, This Right reverts and returns to the Community again. And in this, for ought I know, both Jeſuit and Puritan conſpire, only the Jeſuit ſworn to maintain the exorbitant Pride and Power of Pope, reſerveth the Intereſt extravagant of the Pope. And as Papelings do it *in ordine ad Spiritualia*; So Presbyterians come well nigh it, who will have the King, but *Cuſtos* and *Vindex*, and moſt put in Execution what the Presbytery or Aſſembly determines in Gods Caſe and Cauſe: otherwiſe you know what they may do, *Excommunicate &c.* and what follows upon that you know by joyning the Law and the Goſpel. *Mat.* 18. It is Chriſts Command, that an *Excommunicate ſhall be unto thee as an Heathen or Publican*: and the Tenor of the Law runs, *Deut.* 17. *A Stranger ſhall in no wiſe reign over thee.*

Becauſe we are ſure that our Adverſaries in the *Roman* Church will the next day either ſtrengthen their Tenet, aſſerting it by the Teſtimony of our men, ſuch as they will have us to own without all reaſon, or then that they diſclaim this part of the Tenet, by which ſuch extravagant Power is given to the People, which the Pope may do at Leiſure and Pleaſure; for neither he nor any Council of theirs hath as yet determined it to be *de fide*; and turn it home as a true Brood of reformed Religion, which I moſt fear, and with good Reaſon; for when the Jeſuits were of late in this our Bleſſed Kings Reign charged by a Churchman that their Doctrine was ſeditious, and treacherous concerning Kings, a Jeſuit in *Spain* was bold to anſwer, that the ſame Tenets were preached and printed by ours, and practiſed, before a Jeſuit was, or ever they did print, gave a Paper with warrand of the Books, as *Goodman*, *&c.* and it is well known here, what was profeſſed and proteſted by Father *Knot* in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to our Gracious Sovereign before his Book, entituled *Chriſtianity maintained* about the time of the Stirs and Diſtempers in *Scotland*. Becauſe I ſay, our Enemies are ſo malicious and ſubtle to take all poſſible Advantages to wrong us, and our good Cauſe, I aver confidently, that thoſe and the like Tenets were never taught nor believed by the ſound Proteſtants of the Reformed Churches; but our Sectaries learned them of their *Bouchier*, *De juſtâ abdicatione*, *Hen.* 3. *Roſſæus peregrinus* his *de juſta reip. in principem poteſtate*. *Hottoman* his *Francogallia*, his *de jure regn. Gal.* *Mariana* and others. And for my part I probably conjecture by the Terms they uſe that they have borrowed their firſt main Tenet of the Sorboniſts, and others of that kind; who to oppoſe the Pope his

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Infallibility in Judgment, his unlimited Power, and to ſubject him to a Council, did diſpute themſelves almoſt out of breath, to prove that *poteſtas ſpiritualis ſumma*, was by Chriſt firſt and immediately given *unitati*, or *communitati fidelium*: that ſo the power might never periſh, the Truth might be ever preſerved, and that howſoever for the time it was virtually in the Pope, yet he had it only from the Community of the faithful *communicatively*, and in caſe of Defailance, in them it was *ſuppletive*; and in caſe that the power of the Church was abuſed to Hereſie or Tyranny, the Pope was depoſable (not only cenſurable) by a Council. This Queſtion was acutely diſputed before, about, and after the Councel of *Conſtance*. In the like manner to vindicate the Sovereignty of Kings, from ſubordination or ſubjection to the Sea of *Rome in temporalibus*, they made the Community of the people, the prime, firſt, proper, and immediate ſubject of all civil Power, intending at this time only to vindicate Princes from the ſacrilegious and violent Invaſion of the Pope of *Rome*, who moſt impiouſly and tyrannically uſurped upon them; as *Gregory Nazianzen* ſays, it may well be that ἀνωτρία τῆς ἀνθολκῆς, like to a Cooper to right a bowed or crooked ſtick, will bend it too much to the other ſide, to rectifie it, ſo theſe men to right Princes from the Tyranny of the Pope of *Rome*, run upon the other extreme, for the time not conſidering it; as the Fathers to ſhun the *Scylla* of *Manicheiſm* who impoſed an inevitable Fate and Neceſſity upon all the voluntary actions of man to vindicate mans Will, and Freedom from inevitable Neceſſity, and to aſſert to it it's native Liberty; they did run ſo far to the other extreme, that they aſcribed too much to the natural Power and Strength of mans free will, and ſo

ſeemed in heat of Diſpute to derogate too much from the Neceſſity of Grace to our doing good. Of which Expreſſions the *Pelagians* afterward did make uſe againſt the Orthodox.

Some there be, who do maintain theſe Pariſians and others, that howſoever they did think Kings and Sovereignty were from the People by their Conſent, yet that power was immediately from God. The maintainers of this Opinion I honour much for their Learning and other excellent parts. But give me leave to ſay it, I do not ſee how it can be maintained, though I intend as much as any man to conſtrue all men in the beſt Senſe. Do not all of them diſtinguiſh *inter poteſtatem Civilem & Eccleſiaſticam*, betwixt Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power; that Kings and Emperours have their Civil power at firſt by Donation from the People; but Church-men may be choſen or deputed for ſacred Orders or Functions by men, but the Donation or Collation of the Power is from God? Do they not hold that *in fieri*, Kings are dependent from People, but not in *facto*? While they are inſtituted, but not after that they are inveſted with that Power derived from the Community? Do they not maintain that they are immediately from God but in Regard of Approbation? That, in ſome, in this point, they hold the Kings Power, his Conſtitution *in fieri*, is by the Peoples Donation transferring their innate inherent Right upon him; which being immediately by God approved of, they depend no more *in conſervari*, upon the People; their Words are, *Ita quod in poſſidendo illo (ſcilicet Impèrio) nullum recognoſcit ſuperiorem præter Deum*: that it is ſo, that a King in poſſeſſing his Empire and Sovereignty acknowledeth no Superiour but God: which in effect is no more, than when any

any man by Induſtry or Donation acquireth a Right or Propriety, if he come well by it, he is righteous poſſeſſour of it, by Gods Confirmation and Approbation: yet do they hold too, that the people and Community may *propter crimen civile & politicum deſtituere principem*, for a civil Enormity againſt the Commonwealth depoſe and dethrone a King. And notwithſtanding, they maintain that the Pope may not, cannot for any civil Crime or Tranſgreſſion, no nor for any Spiritual either depoſe a King, *niſi de per accidens*, but accidentally; for they hold that the Pope cannot depoſe *ſententialiter*, legally, judicially, and orderly, a King or Emperour, although he may excommunicate *ſententialiter*, legally, and by his own innate Power, as they ſay; *& finaliter* or *conſecutive*, and by way of Conſequence, by his Sentence of Excommunication compel or move thoſe that have power to depoſe him: and ſo accidentally, occaſionally, and by way of Conſequence only he does depoſe, not properly by himſelf or any Power innate and inherent in him. And on the other ſide, they hold that the Emperour *de per accidens*, accidentally may depoſe the Pope; for if the Pope abuſe his power and place, to the Damage of the Empire and Commonwealth, the Emperour may forfeit his temporal eſtate, confiſcate his Goods, and what elſe he holdeth as the Vaſſal of the Empire, and by this means, that thoſe that have Power over the Pope, (which in their Senſe is an Oecumenical, a general Council) to depoſe and degrade the Pope. So equally keep they the Scales betwixt the Emperour, Kings, and Pope.

To demonſtrate theſe Truths by their Grounds and Teſtimony, it appears evidently; firſt, that when they diſtinguiſh betwixt ſecular and ſacred power, ſacred

they acknowledge supernatural, and immediately by Donation from God: but secular to be natural, humane, and ordinary, by Donation from the Community. Next that they acknowledge God to have no immediate hand in collating secular Power, but by way of Approbation. Thirdly, that they allow the people Authority and Sovereignty not only to censure but to depose Princes, as doth also *Marsilius monand. Patav. ad Ludovic. IV. part*, 1. *c.* 12. When he hath acknowledged that *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Saul*, *David*, and such had immediate Institution from God Almighty, for other Kings and Governours, their Right he saith, *Provenit immediate ex arbitrio humanæ mentis*, it is immediately from the free Election and Concession of man. *Jacobus Almeyn* in his Tract, *De Suprema Pot. Eccles. & Laica*, *q.* 2. *c.* 1. saith expressly, *in sola approbatione divina fundatur quicunque potestas jurisdictionis Civilis & Laicæ*, all secular Power and Jurisdiction is founded in the sole Approbation of God: and that you mistake him not, he telleth you immediately before, that for the Collation of the power it is not, but *Aliquibus titulis erectis mediantibus*, by some Right or Title ordinary, *Scilicet vel titulo successionis, vel hæreditate, vel venditione, vel donatione, vel aliqua permutatione*, either by the Right of Succession, or the Right of Inheritance, or by Alienation, or by Donation, or by some way of exchange. See him more fully, *cap.* 5. *ibidem.* where he giveth you the three ways, which all the Sorbonists conceive to compleat all the manner, how man may be said to have any thing immediately from God. Let me refer you again to another Passage of *Marsilius Patavinus de Translatione Imperii cap.* 6. Answering that Objection for the Popes power above Emperours and Kings, that the

Pope

Pope *Zacharias* depoſed *Childerick* and enthroned *Pipin* ſaith, *Sed Admonitus in geſtis Francorum ſcribit, & verius, Pipinum per Francos legitime in regem electum, & per regni proceres elevatum: per Bonifacium quoque Rhemenſem Archiepiſcopum inunctum Suiſſione, in Monaſterio Sancti Medardi. Childericus qui tunc ſub nomine Regis in delicciis marceſcebat & ocio, fuit in Monachum tonſuratus. Unde non illum Zacharias depoſuit, ſed deponentibus, ut quidam aiunt, conſenſit. Nam talis depoſitio Regis, & alterius inſtitutio, propter rationabilem cauſam non ad Epiſcopum tantummodo, neque ad clericorum aliquem aut clericorum collegium pertinet, ſed ad Univerſitatem civium inhabitantium regionem, vel nobilium, vel ipſorum valentiorem multitudinem.* The Reſult of all is this, Pope *Zacharias* did not chuſe *Pipin* King of *France*, nor unking *Childerick*; but the Commonalty and Peers of *France* did both: and *Boniface* Arch-biſhop of *Rhemes* anointed him at *Soiſſon*, in the Abbey of St. *Medard*. The Pope had no Authority in the one or other, but a naked Conſent, for the depoſing of ſuch a King as *Childerick*, who was a ſtupid and naughty man, living beaſtly in his Pleaſures; nor the chuſing of another, as *Pipin* doth not, for moſt conſiderable Reaſons, belong either to any Biſhop, Church-man, or Corporation of Clergy, but only to the whole Community of the Subjects, or to the Nobles, or to the greater and better part of the whole. You ſee here *Marſilius* ſpeaketh the Language of the Doctors of *Sorbon*. For you will read their Diſtinction in anſwering the very ſame Objection, that *Zacharias* the Pope, both in the Depoſition of the one, and Conſtitution of the other, had a hand *conſenſivè*, not *authoritativè*, by a naked Aſſent, not by authoritative interpoſing, or Right in this Act.

To ſhut up all this, I refer you to one place, by viewing of which you ſhall have explicitly three, *Jacobus Almayn*, *Johannes de Pariſiis*, and *Ockam*, all of them Doctors of *Paris*, and breathing the ſame thing, with the Patavin Doctor *Marſilius*. *Almayn* hath it, who writ for *Ockam*, and in the words alledgeth *Johannes de Paris verbatim de Supr. Pot. Eccleſ. & Laic. q.* 2. *c.* 5. where with *Ockam* he grants that the Pope for Hereſie may depoſe a King, and the people for tranſgreſſing againſt the Commonwealth. But that you may conceive all aright, he ſaith, *Non licet Papæ nec propter civile, nec propter ſpirituale crimen deponere, niſi de per accidens. Et non pertinet ad Papam ſententialiter deponere Imperatorem, licet ſpectet ſententialiter excommunicare, & finaliter per cenſuram Excommunicationis eos qui habent Authoritatem deponendi cogere ut illum deponant. Et ſic de per accidens deponit ſolummodo & non directè.* The Senſe is, It is not proper nor lawful to a Pope to depoſe an Emperour, either for any civil or ſpiritual Crime, for Errors in Policy or Religion, but only accidentally. The Pope may ſentence the Emperour with Excommunication, but not with Depoſition, and ſo upon the bye, may move the people or the multitude who have Authority over him to dethrone him. And this is done by the Pope not *properly* but *improperly*, not *effectively*, but *conſecutively*. The like he ſubjoyns concerning the Emperours power over the Pope; that if the Pope abuſe the power he hath, to the Diſturbance and Hurt of the civil State, the Emperour may forfeit his State, confiſcate his Goods, and ſo indirectly make, move and force thoſe who have power above the Pope, which in their Opinion is the whole Church, or the Repreſentative which is an œcumenical Council, to depoſe the Pope, and inſtitute another.

To

To theſe I might add *Gerſon* and others, I refer you to *Gerſon*'s Conſiderations, and amongſt theſe that you will read the ſeventh.

I have inſiſted on this, eſpecially for two Reaſons; the one is, that you may ſee theſe Tenets came not into the World with *Luther* and *Calvin*, but were long before there was any Word of a Reformer. *Joannes de Pariſiis* lived and taught at *Paris*, in King *Philip* ſirnamed *Pulcher*, and *Boniface* the eighth's time, about the year of our Lord, 1296. *Willielme Ockam* an Engliſh born, and *Regius Profeſſor* in *Paris*, who writ his Dialogue at the Requeſt of King *Philip*, and after his Death fled to the Emperour *Lewis* the fourth, died as ſome think about 1320. *Gerſon* Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, lived in the time of the Council of *Conſtance*, and died about 1420. And *Almayn* the firſt and chief Profeſſor in *Sorbon*, who took upon him the Defence of *Willielme Ockam*, if you will believe *Flaccius Illyricus*, wrote *Anno* 1512. a book againſt *Cajetan*, for the Power of a Council above the Pope, which was printed *Coloniæ* 1514. All theſe were *prior* to *Luther* or *Calvin*. Our Rabbies then have drawn theſe Doctrines out of their polluted Ciſterns.

The other Reaſon is, becauſe ſome too charitably, and to the prejudice of Verity, interpret the Authors above cited and their Kinſmen.

If any man will take and hold them to the better Senſe, I will not be contentious, though I profeſs I cannot ſee it, yet will it appear otherwiſe that thoſe are not the Tenets of the reformed Catholick Church, but the Foppery of *Popery*. See *Thomas Aquinas* 1. *de regim. princ. c.* 6. where he ſaith, *Si ad jus multitudinis pertineat ſibi providere de rege, non injuſtè ab eadem Rex inſtitutus poteſt deſtitui, ſi poteſtate regni tyrannicè abuta-*

ubitatur: in which Paſſage you have, that people may make Kings, unmake them in caſe of Tyranny. This Book is ſuſpected and for many juſt and pregnant Reaſons not to be *Thomas Aquinas*'s, and therefore I refer you to the genuine *Thomas*, 1, 2. *q.* 90. *art.* 3. & *q.* 97. *art.* 3. & 22*æ. q.* 10. *art.* 10. And if I be miſtaken of his Senſe, blame one of his acuteſt Scholars who avers it, *Suarez. l.* 3. *defenſ. orth. fid. adv. Sect. Angliæ, ca.* 2. And long before *Thomas Aquinas* Pope *Zachary* taught the French this Doctrine, as you may read *Aven. l.* 3. *Annal. Boiarie. Princeps*, ſaith he, *Populo cujus beneficio poſſidet, obnoxius eſt: Quæcunque habet, potentiam, honorem, divitias, gloriam, dignitatem a populo accipit, plebi accepta referat neceſſe eſt. Regem plebs conſtituit, eundem & deſtituere poteſt.* He practiſed this about the middle of the eighth Age, and for ought I know is the firſt Divine or Pope of *Rome*, either that ſaid ſo, or writ ſo. Some charitably plead for him, and ſhew how averſe he was from giving his Conſent, that at firſt he writ to diſwade them from wronging *Childerick*, who had his Right from God, and writ thus to waſh his hands in Innocency. I will not take pains to vindicate him, I leave that Labour to the Popes paraſites: yet it is worth our noting, that when *Pipin* and his Complices were about this Treaſon, to rob *Childerick* of his Crown, although all things were in him that might perſwade to ſuch a Courſe, *Childerick* being but a *weak King*, a lilly man, drowned and buried in eaſe and pleaſures; childleſs, nor any near to him: yet at this time, notwithſtanding of all thoſe Circumſtances, the like whereof, never, I think, occurred before, ſo odious a Crime it was to depoſe and ſet a King by his Throne, though alſo all *France* had almoſt conſpired with him; yet fear-

fearing that the whole Christian World would cry fie upon them for such an Impiety, they had Recourse to the Pope, that by a specious shew of his Holiness, and the Authority of that holy Church, this great Impiety and Treason might be countenanced and go current. This President was made a leading case in after Ages, both for popish and popular Usurpation to intrude, nay, to invade upon the Sacred Right of Sacred Kings. Nay, our *Puritans* have from hence learned to colour and lustre their ugly Treasons and Seditions with the Cloak of Religion and Righteousness. With the intimating of another Opinion of some who make regal Power resident in the People, and from thence derived to the King, I will close this Chapter. Some do hold, that all Sovereign power is primarily and naturally in the (*universitate civium*) multitude, from it derived to the King immediately, and mediately from God. Who intending the Good, Peace and Safety of Mankind, which cannot be obtained without preservation of Order, hath commanded, and by an inviolable Ordinance and Institution, appointed all to submit and subject themselves to the Laws of Society, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake: not only whilst they enjoy Peace, Plenty, Justice, and Protection by the Benefit of Governours, but also whilst they do suffer under some Inconveniences or accidental Abuses. The Reason of which Obligation they make to be this, because we cannot enjoy nor reap the sweet Fruits of established Government, unless by compact we submit our selves to some possible and accidental Inconveniences, from which grounds they extract these Consequences and Consectanes.

1. First, That after a people have by Contract, Compact, or Covenant divested themselves of that Pow-

Power which was primarily and natively in them they cannot without manifeſt violation and breach of inviolable divine Ordinance, and without Breach of publick Faith, reſume that Authority which they have placed in a King; that being united in one, it may be enabled ſufficiently to protect all, and to exert and exerciſe all neceſſary acts of Government.

2. The ſecond is, that it were high Sin to trench upon Sovereign Authority, to rob it of its Eſſentials and native Conſtitutions.

3. Thirdly, this ordinance of God is not ἀλόγως but ἐυλόγως, not without juſt and urgent Reaſons.

1. First, for if that the primary and native Power which is in all and every one, were not united entirely and ſovereignly in one, it could not have Strength enough to protect all and every one, and to do all Acts and parts of neceſſary Government.

2. Next, this Ordinance of God is neceſſary to prevent thoſe fatal and too too ordinary Diviſions, which attend Multitudes, or many endued with equal Power; where almoſt every one, upon *real* or *fancied Injuries*, undertaketh to right himſelf. The Authors of this Opinion add, That although before *poſitive Conſtitution* this is not abſolutely unjuſt, yet Reaſon informeth us, that it muſt be fit by ſome Condition and Agreement to part *with this native Right entirely*, for a greater good which will enſue; and to prevent greater Evils, which without this cannot be avoided; and to reſtrain our ſelves from being our own Judges.

3. Thirdly, that either to reſume any part of this Power of which the people have *totally* diveſted themſelves, or to entrench, uſurp upon, or limit it, contrary to its Nature, is not only to *diſable Sovereignty* from Government and Protection, but alſo to *looſen*

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the Sinews of all Society, no leſs than of Government, by receding from that Compact which ſubtle, diſcontented and diſaffected men, for their own private ends, perſwade others they might have made more to their own Advantage.

I was ſometime in Love with this Opinion, nor do I much condemn it, for it enableth Sovereign Authority of a King with an entire and ſufficient Power: it maketh the Perſon and Office of the King ſacred and inviolable: it determineth that it is Sacriledge to denude or diveſt the King of any part of ſacred Royalty, and that the attempt or practiſe of any in this kind is a bad preſident, nay, a warrant for the Violation of all Contracts howſoever juſt, upon any pretence whatſoever advantagious; it reſerveth Kings to the Tribunal of God only; it preventeth *by the law of Nature the Appointment of God*, all Seditions and Treaſons, declaring *vim civium in Regem ſemper injuſtam*; all Oppoſition by force, reſiſting of Kings by Arms, whither in a *defenſive or offenſive way*, to be againſt God and unlawful.

How fair ſoever this Opinion be, yet I dare not to aver it, nor maintain it: for I can never ſee where holy Scripture, or reverend and pious Antiquity hath ſeated this Sovereignty in the multitude, or *univerſitate civium*, originally or radically, *tanquam in ſubjecto primo*, as in its firſt Subject: Scripture and Fathers ſpeak it clearly, frequently, that Sovereignty refers to God, as to its immediate Author and Donor; but that it is *underivedly*, *primarily*, and *natively* in the Community, from thence transferred to the Prince, *Ne μὶ quidem Lucilianum*, not one ſyllable. I wiſh from Scripture or Fathers they would make it appear, that after the Peoples Conſtitution, there is a ſuperve-

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nient acceſſory Ordinance to ſecure the Prince his Perſon and Function. I leave this, and come to prove by Scripture,

CHAP. II.

That God is the immediate Author of Sovereignty in the King, and that he is no Creature of the Peoples making.

WHen we ſay that Kings are conſtituted immediately by God, and that Sovereignty is by immediate Donation and Collation from God, and not from the People, conceive us not to mean ſo groſly, that this is *by any ſpecial Ordinance ſent from Heaven by the Miniſtry of Angels or Prophets.* The Obſervator if he conceive there is no other way but this, whereby the *Original* of *Royalty* may be referred to God as the immediate Donor, he will grant that there were but ſome few ſuch, as *Moſes*, *Saul*, *David* &c. But if he know not that ſome thing may immediately proceed from God, and be his proper work, without a Revelation or Manifeſtation extraordinary from Heaven, he is as empty a Divine, as I fear in the end he'll prove a Politician. I hope he will grant, that howſoever the Deſignation of a perſon to, Conſecration for a ſacred Function be by the Church and man, yet the power of preaching, adminiſtrating the Sacraments, binding and looſing of Sins is immediately from Chriſt. To ſay this Power were derived from any other is not only unſound, but blaſphemous. This Power in its nature is *divine*, *ſpiritual*, and *ſupernatural*; and conſequently cannot be but from ſuch an

efficient

efficient. The deſignation of the Perſon to an holy Function is from man or men, but the collation of the Power is immediately from God and Chriſt, and yet this is not by any *ſpecial Ordinance ſent from Heaven by the Miniſtry of Angels and Prophets.*

That the Apoſtles are of God and Chriſt's immediate Conſtitution, none doth deny. That *Matthias* was one, Who will controvert? That he was deſigned by men is clear, *Acts* 1. Two were ſet apart, the Deciſion was by Lots, and yet, I pray you, was not *Matthias* an Apoſtle by immediate Conſtitution from Chriſt? But where read you, where find you *any ſpecial Ordinance ſent from Heaven by the Miniſtery of Angels or Prophets.*

To come to Natural things. If the Obſervator believe with the moſt part of Divines, that the Soul of man is by Creation and Infuſion, not by propagation and traduction, although Man and Nature begetteth the Body, diſpoſeth and prepareth it as a fit matter to be conjoyned with the Soul, that the Father may well be ſaid to have begotten the Son, yet will he acknowledge, that the Soul is immediately from God, and believe it to be ſo *without any ſpecial Ordinance ſent from Heaven.*

It were good for our Adverſaries to conſider, that as the Schools (ſee *Jac. Almayn de Suprema poteſtate temporali, quæſt.* 2. *c.* 1. *& alibi.* See *Gerſon, Joannes Pariſienſis*, and others; and ſee St. *Auſtin, in re*, in effect ſaying the ſame, although not in School-terms, in many places, as namely, *de corrept. & grat. c.* 14. *De Civit. Dei, l.* 4. *c.* 33. *& l.* 5. *c.* 21. *& paſſim.* And to the very ſame purpoſe, ſee *Suarez, lib.* 3. *contr. Angl. Sect. err. c.* 2. although in his Application he erreth foully) do teach us, A thing may be ſaid to be immediately from God three wayes. 1. The

1. The first is, when it is so *solely from God*, as it is from no other, and *presupposeth no thing ordinary, humane, or created, previous or antecedent before the obtaining of it.* Such was the Power *Moses* and *Joshua*, *Saul* and *David* had. Such were the Apostles, all of them were by God and Christ immediately instituted, constituted, designed to, and invested with Power from above.

2. The second way that any thing is said to be immediately from God, is, when the *collation of the Power, and investing of the Person in, and with such Power*, is from God, as the immediate *Author* and *Donor*, although there be presupposed or interposed, *aliquod signum creatum*, some previous or antecedent Act humane or created. The Power Apostolical in *Matthias*, and appointing him to be an Apostle, was immediately from Christ, although some humane Acts did precede, and were interposed before his Constitution, as that the Apostles put two apart, and did cast lots. Neither of these two acts severally, nor both joyntly, had either vertually or formally in them that efficacy or efficiency to collate upon him the Apostolical Power and Preeminence. A world of Instances may be made in this kind. A man baptized, by Baptism obtaineth Remission of Sins, and the Grace of Regeneration; yet none is so weak as to say, that the *immersion in*, or *aspersion* of *Water* effecteth or produceth these excellent Effects of Remission of Sins, and Regeneration. *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*, authorized the Parliament of *Paris*, when one of their number died, or was removed, to make choice of another in his place: yet none will deny, that the Authority and Power of a Judge and Senator is immediately collated upon the Person chosen by and from the

the King of *France*. A King giveth to a well-deſerving Servant the Favour to name any man fitted for Honour to be a Lord, Baron, or Earl, after the Servant to whom the Truſt is committed hath deſigned the Perſon or man, he is made a Lord, Baron, or Earl. Who is ſo ſtupid to aver, that the Honour of a Lord, Baron, or Earl is from the Servant, a fellow-ſubject immediately? And who dare to deny the Honour is from the King, the Fountain of all Honour? This is eaſily diſcerned, for when the act interpoſed and preſuppoſed to the Production and working of ſuch an Effect, is ſuch that of *its own Nature it hath no natural Contingency with the effect produced, but what it hath by ſome Reſemblance or Conſtitution.* We muſt run to an higher and more eminent Cauſe of ſuch a Work and Effect; of which ſee more, *infra*, *c.* 13. where we prove that the interpoſing of an humane Act in the Conſtitution of a King, as Election, Succeſſion, or Conqueſt, impedeth not the conſtitution and making of a King to be immediately from God.

2. The third way is, When *titulo creato mediante*, a mans Right to any thing he hath power of by *ſome ordinary humane Right or Title intervening*, by which he is inveſted with a juſt and full Right to that is collated upon him, and the *Approbation or Confirmation of this Right is immediately from God*: ſo that the poſſeſſour in poſſeſſing what he hath juſt Right, recogniſeth or acknowledgeth *in the right of Propriety* no Superiour but Almighty God.

Now to apply this, for the firſt way, we maintain not that Soveraignty is in a King immediately from God, by extraordinary Revelation, without any humane Act or Sign created intervening. This was peculiar only to ſome few.

The second way, we hold that all Kings really ſo, are immediately from God: for although ſome *Signum creatum*, ſome humane and created act, *as Election, Succeſſion, Conqueſt*, or what elſe in that kind is imaginable and poſſible interveneth, to *the Deſignation of the Perſon*, yet the *real Conſtitution, the Collation of Sovereignty and Royalty* is immediately from God; for the Act or Condition preſuppoſed or interpoſed containeth not in it that power to collate Royal and Sovereign Power: only by Gods appointment it is inſeparably joyned with it, or infallibly followeth after it, ſo that it referreth to God as the *proper donor and immediate Author*. As in Baptiſm, if there be nothing repugnant in the Suſcipient, the baptized hath from God immediately Remiſſion of Sins, and Grace of Regeneration. Or as in Sacred Orders, the Deſignation of the perſon is from men and an humane Act; but the Endowment with ſupernatural power to act, do and exerciſe ſupernatural Acts, is immediately from God and Chriſt. *Matthias* his perſon was deſigned by the Apoſtles, but Chriſt only made him truly and really an Apoſtle. Juſt ſo in the Conſtitution of Kings, *Election, Succeſſion, Conqueſt*, or what elſe, is only *Potestas deſignativa perſonæ*; but the power of Royalty and Sovereignty is primarily, formally, and immediately from God.

That we may conceive things aright in this caſe, we muſt diſtinguiſh three things. 1. Firſt, *The Sovereignty or Royal Power*, which is *forma quædam*, the ſpecifick and formal Eſſence conſtitutive of a King. 2. Next, *The Perſon* of the King, which is *Subjectum*, the ſe[illegible] or that wherein this Sovereignty is inherent. 3. Thirdly, *The Conjunction of the Sovereignty with the Perſon*, or the Application of Royal Power and Sovereignty to the Perſon.

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The first, that is, Regal Power and Sovereignty is immediately from God and Christ.

The second, that is, the individual Person taken absolutely in its specifick and individual Essence and Existence, is from its natural Causes constituent: But *qua talis*, considered as a King and such a one, that is, as Supreme and Sovereign, the Deputation or Designation of such an individual person for such a Power, is by Election, Succession, Conquest, or any other lawful way by which God in his Providence doth manifest it.

The third, that is, the joyning of the Authority to the Person, is immediately from God and Christ. Election, Succession, or Conquest, may be said in some Sense *remotely* and *improperly* to make or constitute a King, although they are not the *proper efficient and constituent cause* of that Power.

To say in the third Sense, that Sovereignty in the King is immediately from God *by Approbation or Confirmation only*, it is too flat an Expression, and doth not sort well with the magnifick Expressions of Holy Scripture: as, *By me Kings reign*, Prov. 8. 15. *The Powers that are, are ordained of God*, Rom. 13. 2. *I have said ye are Gods*, Psal. 82. 8. *All Power is given from above*, John. 19. *God hath spoken it once, twice have I heard it, all Power belongeth unto the Lord*, Psal. 62. 11. According to this Opinion, the Sense of those and other such places must be, Kings have their power from below, from the People, by Contract are ordained of men, and only established by God, and consequently we must change the Phrase, The People have said you are Gods, your Power is from below: and Saint *Paul*'s ordained of God, is no better than confirmed or approved of God. Nor is the Title or Right

of a King better, as related to God, than the Title of what any man poſſeſſeth *titulo humano orcato*, by humane Right, by Contract, or otherwiſe in Rents, Moneys, Revenues, or what elſe is ordinary in the Commerce and Society civil of men.

In brief, our Senſe is, *The Royal Power and Sovereignty of the King* is from God primarily, formally, immediately; *The Deſignation or Deputation of the Perſon*, is by Election, Succeſſion, Conqueſt, *&c.* as *Matthias* was deſigned by the Apoſtles ſetting of him apart, and the falling of the Lot upon him, but the Apoſtolical Power and Preeminence was immediately and ſolely from Chriſt. The power of the High-prieſt-hood in *Zadok* was from God; the Deſignation of the Perſon was from *Solomon*, a pregnant proof and Illuſtration of this appeareth in *Jephtah*, Judg. 4. 5, 6, 7. The Elders of *Gilead*, and people by Covenant and Contract bring him home, agree he be Judge and Governour: and yet notwithſtanding, 1 *Sam.* 12. 11. The ſending of *Jephtah* is no leſs given to God ſolely, than the immediate and extraordinary ſending of *Jerubbaal*, *Bedan*, and *Samuel*. A Father begetteth the Child, but God infuſeth the Soul. A Woman by her Choice and Conſent deſigneth her Husband, but the marital Power and Dominion is only from God; for how can ſhe confer or transfer that power which was never fixed in her, nay by God and Nature ſhe is to be ruled by her Husband. It is more then than manifeſt, that an humane Act may deſign the Perſon of a King, and that the Power is conferred by God alone.

There is in true Judgment a main Difference betwixt *Poteſtas deputativa & deſignativa perſonæ Regiæ*, and *Poteſtas collativa poteſtatis Regiæ*; betwixt

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Applicativum perſonæ ad authoritatem & poteſtatem, and *applicativum authoritatis ad perſonam Regis.* The firſt may be done by an humane Act, as a mans hand may apply a Faggot to the fire; but the other, in our caſe, is proper to God, as the Fire only can make the Faggot burn. It appeareth then clearly, that Power may and doth come from God alone, and immediately without *extraordinary Revelation by the Voice of God, of Angel, or Prophet.*

The Senſe and Terms of our Tenet thus cleared, we come in the next place to our Proofs, from the Holy Scriptures in the firſt place. God in Scripture, by frequent, pregnant, and multivarious Expreſſions, hath ſo vindicated to himſelf the making and conſtituting of Kings, that he declareth fully that he will have none to ſhare with him in this Work, for he hath told us, that Kings and their Sovereignty are *by God, of God, from God:* that they are *Gods*: *The Children of the moſt High: His Servants*: *His Miniſters*: *His publick Miniſters and Deputies* λειτουργοὶ διάκονοι: That *their Throne, their Crown, their Sword, their Scepter, their Judgment are Gods*, &c. and hath expreſſed it *in abſtracto*, abſtractly; of their Royalty, their Power; and *in concreto* of themſelves with a Connotation of their Perſons; to intimate, that they, and all in them, their Power, their Function, their Charge, their Perſon, are of divine extract: a Conſtitution of the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; and conſequently to teach us, that the Sovereign Authority of the King, and the Perſon of the King, both of them are ſacred, inviolable: God in his Omniſcience and Preſcience did foreſee, that the Sons of *Adam* would be like to their Father in Tranſgreſſion, that nothing will content them but to be *like God*; and before they

fail, they will juſtle him out of his Right, run upon the Guiltineſs of *divine Uſurpation*, challenging to themſelves the Prerogative of the Almighty, Pope and People, Anti-chriſt-like, exalting themſelves above all that is called God. The *Jeſuit* this day pleaded for the Pope, the *Puritan* for the People, that he or they have underived Majeſty by which they may enthrone or dethrone, make or unmake Kings at their pleaſure.

We begin firſt with the Law. In which as God by himſelf preſcribed the Eſſentials, Subſtantials, and Ceremonials of Piety and his Worſhip; gave order for Juſtice and Piety: ſo he commanded the appointing and conſtituting of the King, to be reſerved as a priviledged caſe, a proper Prerogative for himſelf: *Deut.* 17. 14, 15. *&c. When thou ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a King over me, like as all the Nations about me, Thou ſhalt in any wiſe ſet him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe.* A Law ſufficient to prove our Concluſion, that the King and his Power are originally and immediately from God, dependent from him alone, and independent from all others. The Power and Sovereignty is expreſſed in the words, *Set over thee*: This *Thee* is collective, and includeth all and every one; ſo Scripture knew not this new ſtate-deviſed principle, That *Rex eſt ſingulis major, univerſis minor*, above every one *ſeverally*, but ſubordinate, to all *joyntly*. The perſon is expreſſed *in concreto*, in the Words, *Whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe.* Neither is it to be ſlightly paſſed by, that ſo peremptorily, emphatically, and authoritatively it is right-down ſaid, Thou ſhalt in any wiſe ſet him King over thee, *&c.* Which peremptory Precepts diſchargeth the People all and every one, *diffuſively, collectively, repreſentatively,*

or

or in what capacity elſe is imaginable in them to intend, attempt, or practiſe the appointing of a King, but to leave it entirely and totally to Almighty God.

Here we muſt take off ſome ſhifts which *Jeſuits*, *Puritans*, and others make to elude this and other Texts of this kind. 1. The firſt is, *That this was a priviledged caſe of the Jewiſh King*: So *Suarez. lib.* 3. *c.* 2. *defenſ. orthod. Fid. cont. Sect. Angl.* So *Soto, l.* 4. *de Inſtit. q.* 2. *art.*1. So *Navarrus, cap. Novit. Notab.*3. *num.* 33. *&* 147. and many more, as *Abulenſis* and others: The Sectary averreth the ſame. Both of them ſtrengthen their Argument by theſe Maxims: *Exempla ſpecialia non valent ad inferendum regulam univerſalem: imo ſolent eſſe exceptiones à Regula.* To the ſame purpoſe they adduce that Maxim of the *Juriſts*; *Valet Argumentum à ſpeciali ad inferendam regulam univerſalem*: or, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis.* The Sum and Senſe is, that extraordinary, ſingular, ſpecial, and priviledged caſes, are not firm and valid antecedents to infer a general, ordinary, and ruled caſe: that if we cannot make it appear that all Kings are from God by immediate Conſtitution, the priviledged caſe of the *Jews* will infer no neceſſary Concluſion. *Suarez* in the place above cited, goeth a little further, affirming that God amongſt the Jews did reſerve, as peculiar to himſelf, the *election onely of the King*, but that *His Conſtitution*, or the collation of Royal Power, was from the People properly, immediately: and that becauſe the words run in the Text, *Deut.* 17. 14, 15. that the People ſhall ſet him King over them, and him only *whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe. Bellarmine* ſaith juſt the ſame.

To remove this firſt ſhift, we deny both the one and the other. We deny firſt, that it was a proper caſe

for the Jews to have their Kings immediately conſtituted and appointed by God. The Scripture is for us, that all Kings, all Sovereign Powers are immediately from God.

Prov. 8.15. *By me Kings reign*, ſaith a King, and the wiſeſt of Kings, and a King who had good reaſon to ſay ſo; for, if the People had right to conſtitute or make a King, it had not been King *Solomon* but King *Adonijah*. *Adonijah* durſt ſay to King *Solomon*'s Mother, *Thou knoweſt that the Kingdome was mine, and that all Iſrael ſet their faces on me that I ſhould reign:* 1 *Kin.*2.15. *Solomon* ſaith not of himſelf ſingularly, That he reigned by God, but indefinitely univerſally, *By me Kings*, that is, all Kings reign. The firſt two words, *Per me*, *By me*, contain in them the Donor, the Author, the Efficient, the Conſtituent of Kings and Sovereignty. Poſſibly you will ſay, this *By me*, is ſpoken of Wiſdom, it is true; but that Wiſdom is to be taken ὑποστατικῶς, not for an Accident or Quality, but for ſomething ſubſiſtent perſonally. And this *Solomon*'s חכמה *Chochmach*, in the ſenſe of the moſt Learned, both Ancient and Modern, is St. *John*'s λόγος: *Joh.*1.1. Saint *John*'s *Word*, Chriſt the Son of God, *the brightneſs of his Glory, and the expreſs image of his Perſon*; Heb. 1.2. The Text demonſtrateth it: for this Wiſdom by which Kings reign, is that Wiſdom Ἡ θεὸς ἔκτισε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, (ἔκτισε is the right reading, for the Original word is קנן *Kanan poſſedit*; nor will the Greek reading ἔκτισε bring home the *Arrians* concluſion) which the Lord poſſeſſed in the beginning of his way, before his Works of old: *verſ.* 22. *Which was ſet up from everlaſting, from the beginning, or ever the Earth was*, *v.* 3. The Wiſdom by which Kings reign, is the ſame that was created of all things. Kings are from

from God the Father, but by the Son; as from the Father, by the Son, all Spiritual bleſſings in heavenly things come to us, ſo the greateſt of Temporal Bleſſings, By him we have Kings, the beſt Bleſſing here, for without them neither Godlineſs nor Honeſty, 1 *Tim.* 2. 2. This *Per* is Chriſt's Prepoſition. It is worth your notice taking, that *Solomon* ſaith not, By the People Kings reign; had it been ſo, you know who had been King and not *Solomon*: Nor he ſaith not, By the High-Prieſt Kings reign: you know he was engaged in *Adonijah*'s Treaſon, no: He ſaith not, By *Iſrael*, nor by *Abiathar*, nor by *Zadoc*, nor by *David*, nor by *Nathan*, Kings reign; But there is a *Per me*, which is excluſive of all, and to whom onely it is proper and peculiar, to make Kings, and to make Kings reign. *Solomon* excludes *Pope* and *People*, *State* and *Presbytery*. He vindicates the creation of Kings no leſs to Chriſt than the creation of things. This *Per me*, *by me*, imparts not a naked Permiſſion, as if Kings, by importunity of People, were given way to, as ſome blaſphemous mouths and Pens have ſaid and written: and that Monarchy of all Governments is the leaſt acceptable to God, and to People moſt inconvenient. Ignorants, or malicious, or both they are, who dare to ſay ſo. Monarchy was the firſt Government God ordained in the World, and is yet founded *in paterno*. Why, if it be otherwiſe, was it promiſed to *Abraham*, as the higheſt pitch and reach of Temporal Bleſſings, that Kings ſhould come of him? Why doth God, *Ezech.* 16. upbraiding the multitude of the People, reckon in the laſt place, as the higheſt of his Favours Temporal, That they proſpered into a Kingdom? Why doth St. *Peter* urge obedience to the King, becauſe that is the Will of God? 2 *Pet.* 11.15.

11. 15. Why doth St. *Paul* ſay, that he is *tibi in bonum*, for thy good, and for thy good, and for the good of all. Saint *Paul*'s ἐξουσία ὑπερεχέσῃ, Higher Power, is nothing elſe but St. *Peter*'s Βασιλεὺς ὑπερέχων, the King that is Supreme. So *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, *Haymo*, and others interpret it, and the Government then when Saint *Paul* writ that Epiſtle was Monarchical. They be a curſed brood, who do maintain, that this *per me Reges regnant*, This, By me Kings reign, is a *per me iratum*, by me in anger to puniſh a ſtiff-necked and rebellious People. The Queen of *Sheba* knew it was *per me propitium*, *By me in Mercy*, and was better taught, and ſounder in this point of Divinity, than the great *Gamaliels* amongſt our Sectaries, for ſhe ſaith to *Solomon*: *Becauſe the Lord thy God, Loved* Iſrael *to eſtabliſh them for ever, therefore made he thee King over them, to do judgment and juſtice*, 1 *Chron.* 9. 8. This *per me* implieth then, that they are of Gods making, and in mercy Kings are given to us. This *per me*, *by me*, implieth, Kings are God's and Chriſt's *Derivatives*, and that God and Chriſt are their *Inſtitutives*, from God the Father, by the Son their Commiſſion, their Power, their Sovereignty; for this cauſe St. *Paul* calleth them διατάγῃ τῦ Θεῦ, which word is very pregnant, and ſignifieth an Ordinance by high Authority not revocable, nor repealable. In which ſenſe it is uſually read in claſſical Authors Sacred and Prophane. So *Sineſius* uſeth the word *in Epiſt. ad Theoph.* So *Ariſtotle* in his Problems. Sect. 28. 50. *Lucilius Epigr.* 2. So *Appian.* *in* 2. and *Plutarch* in *Marcello* uſeth, διατάγματα τῶν ἀρχόντων, for eſtabliſhed Decrees of Sovereignty. The word from which it is derived is ſo uſed, *Acts* 28. *Stephanus* a Learned *Gretian* is of that mind, that in this very place, *Rom.* 13. 2. it ſignifieth ſo much.

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The Emphaſis of this *per me* is not yet fully explained. That wonder of Piety and Learning, Doctor *Andrews* Late Biſhop of *Winchester*, hath well obſerved, that the Original is בי, *Bi*, *in me*: and yet beareth well, *in me*, and *per me*: the Prepoſition ב *Beth* ſignifying both: So that the meaning is, Kings are firſt in him, and ſo come forth from him, as that they are in him. He parallels it a little with that paſſage in the Goſpel, *My Father in me, and I in him.* Chriſt in them, as his *Deputies*: They in Chriſt as their *Author and Authoriſer, he by their Perſons, they by his Power.*

The other two words of the Text, *Kings Reign*, contain in them the Charter, the Donation. *Kings*, is in the number of many, in the plural number. *Solomon*, although the wiſeſt of men and Kings, and King of *Iſrael*, knew not this time what our new Doctors know, that it was a priviledged caſe, for the Kings of *Iſrael* to Reign by immediate Conſtitution or Election from God, from Chriſt. *Solomon* ſpeaks it indefinitely. In the Schools it is a currant Maxim, that *Indefinita propoſitio æquipollet univerſali*, an indefinite propoſition is equivalent to an univerſal, except they can ſhew where in Holy Writ it is limited, it is reſtrained. It lieth on them to prove it, for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, He who affirms is bound to prove it: Logick and Law both of them require it. The *Juriſt* ſaith, *Ubi Lex non diſtinguit, nemo diſtinguere debet*: where the Law it ſelf diſtinguiſheth not, we are not to diſtinguiſh. *Solomon* then ſaith univerſally of all Kings, *By me Kings reign*: that is, that their Right, their Power, their Sovereignty is immediately from God by Chriſt.

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I am glad that in this Text we met with *Reges*, *Kings*, *in terminis terminantibus*, in expreſs terms. Nor is it to be ſlightly paſſed by, that you have it, *in concreto*, the King̃ with his Sovereignty: He ſaith not, *Per me Regia poteſtas*, by me Royalty, Sovereignty, but *Per me Reges*, by me Kings, to intimate that *Royalty is ſacred, and the Perſon inveſted with this Royalty too.* *Solomon* for all his Wiſdom reached not the Subtilty of this Age, to diſtinguiſh betwixt the King, his Perſonal Will and Condition, and Royal Power, abſtractly conſidered in it ſelf. If you will have it plainly, Theſe Rabbies have found out a Diſtinction, with which the Spirit of God was not acquainted.

The word *Regnant*, *They reign*, hath its own force, that not onely their Commiſſion is by immediate Derivation from God, and ſo they may ſay, *He it is that hath made us, and not we our ſelves*: *Gratia Dei ſumus quod ſumus*, By Gods Grace we are what we are, and ſo juſtly do write themſelves, every one of them, *King by the Grace of God*; and ſo their Title is rightly from God, and their actual Reigning is of him too. They are not onely *Reges*, Kings by him *in actu ſignato*, as inveſted with this Power from above, but they Reign by him *in actu exercito*, their Commands are by him. The actual exerciſe of their Power is to be conſidered as God's Power exerted by them His Deputies. If you pleaſe to take it larger yet: To, *regnare in fieri, in facto, in conſervari.* To reign, to have a right to it, by Inſtitution and Conſtitution, to exerciſe this Power by Commiſſion, to have it longer or ſhorter time, all is *Per me*, *By me*, *and no other*: *Dat & aufert Regna*, He giveth and taketh away Crowns at his pleaſure. The Law teacheth us, *ejuſdem eſt deſtituere, cujus & inſtituere*, none can unmake a King, but he only

y who can make him. Let the Law plead for it ſelf, ſtand not for it; Sure I am it is good Divinity. In *Job*, c. 26. 7. We read with St. *Hierome*, (and that without wronging the Original in the ſenſe) *Reges collocat in Solio in perpetuum*, *He placeth Kings in the Throne for ever.* And again, c. 13. 18. *Solvit Baltheum Regum.* He taketh them from their Throne: or as it is *Pſal.* 89. 44. *He caſteth down their Crown to the ground.* The reſult of all is, what can you conceive of a King, *in abſtracto* or *concreto*, in his Perſon, or in his Sovereignty, of his Power habitual or actual, of his Right, or the Exerciſe of it; of his making, his continuing, his un-kinging? all is *per me*, from God immediately by Chriſt: and this in *Solomon*'s expreſſion is verified of all Kings whatſoever.

A further proof both to fortifie what is ſaid, and to bring home our main Concluſion, we adduce from *Rom.* 13. 1. αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσιν. *For the Powers that be, are ordained of God.* Beza rendreth the words, *Quæcunque autem ſunt poteſtates ſunt à Deo ordinatæ.* The old Interpreter, nearer to the Original turneth it thus: *Quæ autem ſunt à Deo ordinatæ.* I am very inclinable to think that thoſe words relate onely, at leaſt principally, to Sovereignty, and that Monarchical. I do not deny but that by *analogy and accommodation* they may be accommodated to all Power whatſoever. The Reaſons enforcing me are; Firſt, becauſe they are διαρρήδην, expreſly called ἐξουσίαι ὑπερεχούσαι, *High, or Eminent Powers.* 2dly, if we will admit St. *Peter* to interpret St. *Paul*, we will find S. *Paul*'s ἐξουσίαι ὑπερεχούσαι, are S. *Peter*'s Βασιλεῖς ὑπερέχοντες: The Kings that are Supreme, 1 *Pet.* 11. 13. 3. Thirdly, the Apoſtle St. *Paul* adding, *Ordained of God*, or *under God*, cannot ſo properly be underſtood of Subordinate Pow-

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er, for that is not by immediate Derivation from God but immediately from the higher Power, or the King that is Supreme, and mediately from God: which made Saint *Peter* call them ἡγεμόνας, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένους, *Governours, and such as are sent by the King, who is Supream.* 1. *Pet.* 11. 14. Fourthly, many Learned Interpreters conceive the Words so, as Saint *Chrysostom*, *Ambrosius*, or *Hilarius Diaconus*, or whom else you will, under the name of *Ambrosius*, *Haymo*, and others *&c.* Lastly, When St. *Paul* writ this Epistle, the Government at *Rome* was Monarchical, *Nero* then reigned.

This thus established, Let us observe in the next place, that the Apostle speaketh *Universally* that all Supreme, Monarchical and Royal Power is ordained of God immediately. *Beza* sticks not to render the words into a Proposition universal affirmative. *Quæcunque autem sunt potestates, sunt à Deo ordinatæ.* The Apostles own Expression is full enough, pregnant enough. The Relative αἱ, must in good Grammar be referred to the antecedent ἐξουσίαι ὑπερεχούσαι: joyn the words cited with the words immediately preceeding, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, *for there is no power but of God;* and then you shall have this Conclusion by undeniable Consequence, naturally resulting from the Premises *There is no supreme or Royal Power but from God alone:* and consequently, he is the sole Donor and Sovereignty relates to him as to its immediate Author. Do not our Sectaries reason thus from the Passage, *Gal.* 2. 16. εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Knowing that a man is not justified by Works, but by Faith alone*; that this ἐὰν μὴ, is the equivalent of an *exclusive*: and so conclude, that we are justified by Faith alone? Why then will

will they refuse that this passage, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, is *a perfect exclusive*, and is *tant'a mount*, as that no Supreme power is by man or other means, but from God alone. If they shake the Force of this Argument, their strong hold for Justification is overthrown. We observed before, how that in the next verse, those higher Powers are called διαταγὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, the established unrepealable Ordinance of God. And so presumptuous are we now a-days, as to repeal Gods most irrevocable decrees. No wonder we are so insolent, seeing we presume to mend *the Creed and Magnificat*.

Now joyn Saint *Paul* and *Solomon* together, and you have that Sovereign Power, is, διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, and τοῦ Θεοῦ; it is *by God, from God, under God, and God's Appointment irrevocable, ordinance irrepealable*. The three last are the Apostles; the first is *Solomon's*, for the *Septuagint* read the words, δι' ἐμοῦ οἱ Βασιλεῖς Βασιλεύουσιν. This variety and plurality of Expressions how Sovereignty is of God and Gods, the Spirit of God hath used, that none presume sacrilegiously to usurp upon God his Prerogative, who hath reserved this peculiarly for himself, that all Kings upon Earth should be his immediate Creatures, and Deputies by his own Letters Patent authorized.

Our Adversaries have been much puzled with this Text; if they give us a new Bible, it is like enough either this Text will be left out, or we will have a Glosse upon it to destroy the original Text. It hath so tortured them, that I cannot tell you how many ways they have coyned to themselves to elude it. I have observed five main ones, which I purpose by by Gods Grace to examine and refute, *quest.* 5. now

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I content my ſelf to take off one, in which they pleaſe themſelves much. They ſay, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh *abſtractly*, not *concretely* of the power it ſelf, not of the perſon cloathed and inveſted with the Power; it is an ignorant ſhift. *Barcley* in his Book *de Regno*, (who hath deſerved well of all Chriſtian Monarchs) hath learnedly and truly obſerved, that Saint *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, did keep the *Roman* uſual *Diction* in this, with whom it was cuſtomable and ordinary by *Poteſtates*, *powers in the Abſtract*, to expreſs the perſons authorized with this power. He refers his Reader to claſſical and good Authors, as to *Pliny*, *lib.* 29. *c.* 4. *Juvenal. Suet. in Claudio. c.* 21. *Modeſt. lib.* 27. *de Pignorib. Ulpian. lib.* 17. *SS. penult. de Ædil. edict. Tertullian contr. gent.*

I content my ſelf with the Dialect of *Canaan* in Scripture; in which frequently Expreſſions in the Abſtract, expreſs exiſtents in the Concrete: *Col.* 1. 16. *By him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers.* By Thrones, Dominions, Principalities and Powers, uncontrovertedly Angels are meant; that the Expreſſions are abſtract is clear as the Sun-ſhine. To ſay Angels were created *in abſtracto*, is to ſend us to ſearch after *Platonick Idea*'s.

This inſtance it may be is too ſublime, let us ſee then if we can hit upon one nearer us, and more fitting for the Purpoſe in hand. I pray them to caſt their Eyes upon St. *Peter*, 2. *Epiſt.* 2. 10. where giving a Character of the man with whom we have to do, he ſaith, *That they deſpiſe Government, are preſumptuous, ſelf-willed, and not afraid to ſpeak ill of Dignities.* The fellow of this you have, *Jud.* 8. *Theſe filthy Dream-*

Dreamers defile the Fleſh, deſpiſe Dominion, and ſpeak ill of Dignities. In which Paſſages the words *in abſtracto*, Government, Dominion, Dignities, without any Doubt do expreſs the perſons of Governours, Lords, and Kings. It is worth your notice taking, to conſider how zealous St. *Peter* and St. *Jude* were for the honour and due of Sovereignty, the ray of Divine Majeſty upon Earth, that they ſpeak ſo paſſionately and bitterly againſt ſuch as profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, and did ſpeak Evil of *Cajus*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, monſters of men: O with what a zeal would they be inflamed, if living now adays they did ſee what we ſee, and hear what we hear! the pretended Levites expreſſing their Zeal to God, Religion, Church and State, by railing againſt the Lords anointed, the beſt of Kings in the World.

The Fathers do uſe the word ſo too, St. *Auſtin epiſt.* 48. ſaith, *Poteſtas humana ſæpe eſt divinæ poteſtati inimica*: humane power is too often, contrary to the Power of God Almighty. The holy Father was not ſo bad a Divine, as to think that *Poteſtas in abſtracto*, that Government which is Gods own Ordinance can be in Oppoſition or Enmity with God: St. *Auſtin* then infallibly by the word *Poteſtas*, *Power*, meant him or them who are authorized with power from above.

If this doth not content our Adverſaries, I would entreat them to look upon St. *Paul*'s Text, and I hope they will find that St. *Paul* meant by being ſubject to higher powers, to be ſubject to him who is inveſted with the Power. Doth not he term them *v.* 3. ἄρχοντες, *Rulers?* Higher Powers, then, and Rulers are with ſaint *Paul* equivalent terms. Doth he not after call them λειτουργοί, and διακόνοι τοῦ θεοῦ, the Miniſters immediate, and peculiar Servants of God? *v.* 6. and

even *Nero* himſelf is Gods Miniſter for thy Good. Doth he not ſay *v.* 4. *That he beareth not the Sword in vain?* which is non-ſenſe if you conceive it of higher Powers *in abſtracto.* The like may be ſaid of paying Tribute, *&c.*

God did fore-ſee by his eternal Omniſcience how apt man was to coin Diſtinctions to deceive himſelf, and to wrong Gods Ordinance, that mercifully to us, he hath expreſſed in Scripture, that both Sovereignty and the perſon cloathed with Sovereignty, are of him, by him, and from him immediately; and this, that both the one and the other may be reverenced by us as ſacred and inviolable. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh *in abſtracto, Be ſubject to the Higher Powers: The Powers that are, are ordained of God. He that reſiſteth, &c.* Again, the Spirit of God by *Solomon* ſaith, *In concreto,* with the Connotation of the Subject, *By me Kings reign. I have ſaid you are Gods, &c.* What ſhall we judge then of this new-coyned Diſtinction, to make a Difference betwixt *the King* and *his Authority*; betwixt *his perſonal Will,* and *his Royal and Authoritative Will?* to purſue his Perſon with a Cannon-bullet at *Edge-hill,* and to preſerve his Authority at *London,* or elſewhere? Theſe Fig-tree Leaves will not cover our Rebellion and Treaſon in the day of our Accounts before the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings. Remember his ſtrait Charge, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophet no harm.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The ſame Truth is proved by more Arguments from Holy Scripture.

THE Scripture hath not delivered any truth *more purpoſely, more apertly, more frequently* than this. The Spirit of God knew well, that if the Sacred Sovereignty of Kings be not preſerved, Religion, Juſtice, and Peace cannot be maintained. This is the reaſon St. *Paul* gives to perſwade us to pray for Kings, *That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2. It is obſervable, that *Solomon*, *Prov.* 8. ſpeaketh firſt of the eſtabliſhment of Government, before he ſpeaks of the Works of Creation: to intimate, it is better not to be at all, than to be without Government. For the ſame reaſon God fixed Government in the Perſon of *Adam*, before *Evah* or any elſe came into the World; and how Government ſhall be, and we enjoy the happy fruits of it, it is not conceivable, except we preſerve to the King his Sacred Sovereignty inviolably. This, I ſay, made God in Scripture *non obiter, raro, & accidenter*, not in a paſſing way, occaſionally, or rarely, or accidentally, to command this Duty of Loyalty and Obedience to Kings, ſacred in their Functions, in their Perſons. Almighty God hath in commanding this Duty in holy Writ, kept the ſame courſe, he kept in ſetting down Eſſentials and Fundamentals of Faith and Worſhip. If any be pleaſed to be at the pains to obſerve it, I doubt if they will find any thing ſo peremptorily and frequently commanded, and with ſo much reaſon urged. The Lord

knew how averſe corrupt man is to give to the Lords Anointed his due; without the ſpecial Grace of God, or an over-ruling ſtrong Providence People cannot be kept in Subjection. *David* magnifieth it, as one of the higheſt and moſt powerful of Gods bleſſings towards him, that he delivered him from the ſtrivings of his People: *Pſal.* 18. 43. and as ingenuouſly he acknowledgeth, that it is God alone who ſubdueth his People under him: *Pſal.* 144. 2. God accounteth Rebellion againſt them Rebellion againſt himſelf: and ordinarily in Scripture you have God and the King inſeparably joyned, and the Duties to both enjoyned, 1 *Pet.* 2. 17. *Fear God, Honour the King.* Prov. 24. 21. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.* This is purpoſely done, not onely to intimate the greatneſs of the Sin of Diſobedience, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion, but alſo to expreſs the near Alliance Kings have with God; and the ſtrait conjunction betwixt them and God, that nothing intervenes to divide or ſever them, *which God hath put together let none put aſunder.*

We have proved that God in the Law hath reſerved to himſelf, as his own right, the Conſtitution of Kings: We have proved ſufficiently that this was not a priviledged caſe of Gods People under the Law, becauſe *Solomon* indefinitely, and conſequently univerſally averreth, That all Kings reign by God in Chriſt. Becauſe Saint *Paul* hath delivered the ſame truth, That there is no Supreme Power but from God alone, and ſo from him alone, that he admitteth no Corrival to ſhare with him. Thus you have three Arguments for our purpoſe. We come now to the fourth:

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Which is this: Scripture right down teacheth us, that all Kings whatſoever have their Free-hold from Almighty God alone. Of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt* it is ſaid, *Exod.* 9. 7. *I have raiſed thee up.* *Eliſha* from God deſigned, anointed and conſtituted *Hazael* King over *Syria*, 2 *King.* 8. 13. Here you ſee that the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria* are no leſs of Gods making than the Kings of *Iſrael.* Are not *Pharaoh*, *Abimelech*, *Hiram*, *Hazael*, *Hadad*, no leſs honoured with the compellation of Kings, than *David*, *Saul*, or *Ezekiah*? Be they what they will, Gods creatures they are, and of his making onely.

Jer. 29. 9. God doth honour *Nebuchadnezzar*, by naming him his ſervant: His ſervant, conceive it κατ' ἐξοχὴν, by way of excellency: The ſame compellation it is, which God giveth to *David*, a King according to his own heart. *Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon, my Servant.*

If what we have ſaid cannot ſuffice, let them turn over to *Iſai.* 45. 1, 2. *Thus ſaith the Lord to his Anointed,* to Cyrus, *whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue Nations before him; and I will looſe the loyns of Kings, to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut, I will go before thee, and will make the crooked places ſtrait, I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut aſunder the bars of Iron. And I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou mayeſt know that I the Lord which call thee by thy name, am the God of Iſrael.* A proof able enough to ſtop the Devils mouth. What *Cyrus* was is well known, he hath *Joſiah*'s honour, to be named well nigh an hundred years before he was born, and named by his individual Name; he is dignified with the Royal compellation of the *Lords Anointed:* his Honour,

his work, and all is from God, and that immediately. How much might be ſaid, if we pleaſed to inſiſt to prove our point? But leaving this, I come to our fifth Argument, which is,

That in the Book of God we are told, *Dominus dat & aufert regna*: that there be no Kingdom but of his giving, no Kings but of his making, no King unking'd but by his doing. We ended our laſt Argument with *Cyrus*, we begun the proof of this with him too. *Eſdr.* 1. 2. It is recorded by the Holy Spirit, *Thus ſaith* Cyrus *of* Perſia, *the Lord of Heaven hath given me all the Kingdomes of the Earth, and he hath charged me to build him an Houſe at Jeruſalem which is in Judah.* You read the ſame 2 *Chron.* 36. 22, 23. I am very inclinable to believe that *Cyrus* knew this charge from the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, 44. 28. *He is my ſhepherd and ſhall perform all my pleaſure, even ſaying to Jeruſalem, thou ſhalt be built, and to the Temple, thy foundation ſhall be laid.* And again, *cap.* 45. 13. *I have raiſed him up in righteouſneſs, and I will direct all his wayes, he ſhall build my City, and let go my Captives, not for price nor reward, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* If this will not rectifie the perverſe rebellious Tenet of Puritan and Jeſuit, I deſpair of doing it. I know they will tell me, it is an extraordinary caſe; this is their ordinary poor ſhift, that ſerveth them in many caſes; if they would conſider it aright, they might ſee how careful God has been by extraordinary Works and Manifeſtations, and reiterated Precepts and Practices ordinary, to right their extravagant and extraordinary Tenets and Humours. If they can be ſatisfied, we refer them to *Dan.* 2. 19, 20, 21. And *Daniel* will teach them in the judgment of God, that to give and remove Kings and Kingdoms, is the ſole and properly peculiar work of God.

When

When God had revealed to *Daniel Nebuchadnezzar*'s Dream, with the Interpretation of it, he thanketh God, and ſaith, *verſ.* 20. *Bleſſed be the Name of God for ever and ever, for Wiſdom and Might are his.* *verſ.* 21. *And he changeth the times and the ſeaſons: he removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings.* Again, verſ. 37. He ſaith, *Thou, O King, art a King of Kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, Power, Strength and Glory.* verſ. 20. and 21. He aſcribeth the ſetting up and removing of Kings, no leſs to God, than Wiſdom infinite, and Omnipotency, which are Divine Attributes incommunicable. And *verſ.* 37. He vindicates this as proper and peculiar to the God of Heaven, that Earth and earthly men can have no part in it. *Daniel in whom was the ſpirit of the holy Gods, Daniel whom no ſecrets troubled, Daniel in whom was wiſdom like the wiſdom of Gods*, reached not this high point, to know that in the People was an *underived Majeſty* to be derived to Kings in what proportion they pleaſe, by a fiduciary truſt. View the fourth Chapter of *Daniel*'s Prophecy, and there you will find it in four-ſquared Letters; *Nebuchadnezzar* for a time is un-kinged: how, I pray you? *By the Watcher, by the Holy One, one ſent by him from Heaven, commanded by him to hew down the tree, to cut off his branches, ſhake off his leaves, ſcatter his fruit*, verſ. 13. 14. And to what purpoſe is this? That *Nebuchadnezzar* and all living may know, that the *moſt High ruleth* in the Kingdom of men, *and giveth it to whomſoever he will, and ſetteth up over it the baſeſt of men, verſ.* 17. All this is the *Decree of the moſt High. verſ.* 24. *And Nebuchadnezzar was driven from men, to live and eat with beaſts, till he ſhould know that the moſt High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomſoever he*

will, verſ. 25. It was told to the proud King, ſwelling in Pride in his Palace, that *the Kingdom was departed from him, the Meſſenger was a Voice from Heaven*, *verſ.* 31. After his Repentance, and acknowledging this Truth, that *Dominus dat & aufert regna*; that God giveth and taketh away Kingdoms, his Kingdom was eſtabliſhed unto him, his Counſellors and Lords ſought unto him, and excellent Majeſty was added unto him. Whoſoever is not over-ruled with the Spirit of Errour, and readeth and conſidereth theſe Paſſages aright, muſt confeſs the Truth we maintain. God open our eyes to ſee it, and give us hearts to believe it, that Loyalty & Royalty may have their Place and Right!

The ſame Truth is delivered to us again *Dan.* 5.5. A hand from Heaven, (a miracle it is to confirm this Truth) writeth upon the Plaſter of the Wall, that *Belſhazzar* the King and his Nobles may inquire after it. That *God had taken the Crown from him.* He did not acknowledge, that he did hold his Crown of the King of Heaven; to this Ingratitude, he added Sacriledge, and prophaned the Golden and Silver Veſſels of the Temple. For theſe ſins his Crown was taken from him. So horrible a Sin is Sacriledge, and in Kings eſpecially, that it will throw them into Contempt, caſt their Crowns into the duſt, and bring greater Judgments in the world to come if they repent not. Nor can this Repentance be ſound and ſaving without Reſtitution. Here that rule of the Holy Father holds good, *Non dimittetur peccatum ni reſtituatur ablatum.* *Daniel* reading and interpreting this miraculous Writ, recalleth to *Belſhazzar*'s Memory Gods dealing with his Father, v. 18. *O thou King, the moſt high God gave* Nebuchadnezzar *thy Father a Kingdom, and Majeſty, and Glory, and Honour*, (what more can

can any conceive in a King, than is here expreſſed?) And for the Majeſty he gave him *&c.* v. 19. (mark it well, it is not ſaid, that the People gave it) he ſwelled in Pride, was unkinged for a time, till he acknowledged that the moſt high God ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and that he appointed over it whomſoever he will. *v.* 21. After this *Daniel* bringeth home his Application to *Belſhazzar*, prudently checking him, that he had not made right uſe of that befell before his Father, but had trode in the ſame way of Pride, and added to his Fathers Sin the prophaning of Sacred things, that for this cauſe he and his are extirpated Root and Branch. The writing was *Mene*, *Mene*, *Tekel*, *Upharſin*. The Senſe is, he was found Light in Gods Ballance, his Kingdom was numbred and finiſhed, and divided or given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, Who in executing this Vengeance againſt an ingrate and ſacrilegious King, were nothing elſe, but the Inſtruments, the Axe and Rod of God, as you may read, *Iſaiah* 45. and 44. 28. and *Jer.* 51. 11. *Iſaiah* 13. 17.

In the Paſſages adduced conſider: Firſt, who is the Author? (I mean not the Principal, for without controverſie it is the holy Spirit) *Daniel* a man eminent and excellent in Court, Credit and Preferment. But this is not ſo conſiderable, conſider him therefore as one of the Prophets, of moſt rare Endowments, for Wiſdom and extraordinary Revelations. Secondly, Next reflect your Thoughts a little, how this Truth is manifeſted. It is from Heaven, but how I pray you? *By Dreams*; *By Voice*; *by a crying Voice*; *by Writ*; from whom? *from the moſt high God*: *from the holy one*: *from the Watcher*: *from the God of Heaven*: to whom? To *Nebuchadnezzar* the Emperour of the

Aſſy-

Aſſyrians, and *Babylonians*, to *Belſhazzar* his Son; and all the way miraculous. The Dream is forgotten, to *Daniel* it is miraculouſly revealed, with no leſs wonder interpreted: It is written miraculouſly, Interpreted and read as wonderfully: and all this in the wiſe Diſpenſation of God, that Kings and all may acknowledge that Kings and Kingdoms are of God. Before this Truth be not known to Kings and all, he will reveal it extraordinarily, miraculouſly, by Dreams, by Voices, by Cries, by Writings from Heaven; and that all may take notice of it, the Dream is forgotten, Magicians are ſought to; becauſe they cannot find it out, Death is decreed againſt them, yet God will not have it to go unknown, to his Servant he reveals it, all the Empire take notice of it, all admire it. To confirm it yet more, the King muſt live like a Beaſt, till he believe, he confeſs, he profeſs this Truth; This Truth is not once ſpoken, but twice, it is ſeen, it is heard: The *Babylonians* had forgotten it; *Belſhazzar* had ſlighted it, neglected it. When he, his Counſellors, his Lords are feaſting, carrowſing, a finger from Heaven writes it, None can read it, *Daniel*, is ſought, he reads it, interprets it, that all may take Notice of it. The Father for not acknowledging this Truth, but ſacrificing to himſelf, of a King is made a Beaſt, but Repentance reſtores him. The Son hath harder meaſure, He is dethroned, rooted out for ever. And a way is made; that *Cyrus* in his ſucceeding to the Empire, may acknowledge that his Kingdom was of God, which he did truly, as we told before. Where can you ſhew any Truth of this kind, in Scripture ſo revealed, ſo manifeſted, by ſuch miraculous, extraordinary, and admirable ways? I think it is hard to hit upon a parallel to it. God knew well before,

How

How apt we are to rob Kings of their due Right and Honour, nay, rather how prone, corrupt man is to intrude upon God and invade his Right.

If any will be pleaſed to conſider ſeriouſly *Daniel*'s Prophecies, What are they but Predictions that all Empires, Kingdoms, Majeſty, Royalty and Sovereignty are of Gods immediate Donation? They are not diſpoſed of by the compoſed Contracts of men, but by the immediate hand and work of God. All Ancients and Moderns for the moſt part acknowledge here in *Daniel* to be the cleareſt, the moſt diſtinct Prophecies, Predictions, of the four great Empires. If you will caſt your Eyes upon the hiſtorical part of *Daniel*'s Book there is no Truth, which is ſo much treated, ſpoken of, as this Truth, as that Kings and Kingdoms are dependent from God alone, and Independent from all others. It may be, becauſe *Daniel* was a great Courtier, as *Joſeph* was with *Pharaoh*, that he might not be judged a time-ſerver, a temporizer, a complier to vindicate him from Court-flattery, God did ſo many ways, ſo miraculous ways demonſtrate this Truth, confirm this Truth, that Sovereignty, Royal Majeſty, come from Heaven, from God immediately.

What Prophet almoſt hath not a hint, an Expreſſion of this? *Iſay* is plentiful in this; as you may ſee, in *Nebuchadnezzar*, in *Cyrus &c.* and all Neighbour Princes: *Jeremy* taught it to the *Jews* to his own Diſadvantage. The Prophet *Hoſea*, or rather God himſelf by the Prophet with one Breath, in one Verſe, in few words, with a *dedi*, and an *abſtuli*, hath expreſſed, hath confirmed this Doctrine. *c.* 13. 11. *I gave them a King in my Anger, and took him away in my Wrath. I gave him, I took him away*; what can you require more? I pray give me Leave to obſerve one thing

thing in the words, beſides our main purpoſe for which we cited it. He ſaith, *dedi eis regem in ira mea*: I gave them a King in my Anger; This King in the judgment of ſome was *Saul*: according to the mind of others, this King was *Jeroboam*, it skilleth not whether the one or the other. Both of them were wicked. Yet it is ſaid, *Dedi*, I gave him, and as I gave him, ſo *abſtuli*; I took him away: None giveth but He, None can take away but He. God will admit none to do either the one or the other but himſelf. It is obſervable too, that in giving a bad King, it is only ſaid *in ira mea*, I gave him in my Anger; but in taking away a bad King, it is ſaid, *abſtuli in furore meo*, I took him away in my wrath: what difference is betwixt *ira* and *furor*, anger and wrath, all do know. What doth this intimate to us then, but, to have a bad King is a chaſtiſement *Irati Dei*, of an angry God, who is placable; But to have no King at all, it is a work of Vengeance, a token a prognoſtick of an Implacable God, at leaſt hardly placable.

If you account *Job* for a Prophet, or ἀγιόγραφος, it skilleth not much which way you term him. He ſaith, *Reges collocat in ſolio, in perpetuum*; and again, *Balthеum regum diſſolvit*: the places you have cited before. What he ſpeaketh for Sovereignty, you ſhall hear, qq. 4 & 5. For *Solomon* his Suffrage you had before. What he ſaith of the heart of Kings, &c. Of not reſiſting Kings, you ſhall hear it in its proper place, That a King, there is no riſing up againſt him: what in the Book of *Eccleſiaſtes*, he ſpeaketh of his abſolute Sovereignty, you ſhall find it in its proper place. E're long, you ſhall by Gods grace hear *David* ſpeak for himſelf.

And

And becauſe we ſaid before, that no truth almoſt in Scripture is more apertly and frequently delivered, than the Sovereignty of Kings, their creation by God immediately, the Hiſtorical part is plentiful in this kind. In *Geneſis*, it is promiſed to *Abraham*, that Kings ſhall come of him. There it is fixed by Prophecy in the Tribe of *Judah*, with *Judiciaria* and *Legiſlativa poteſtas*, with the Scepter and Law-giver. In the Law it is fore-told, his Duty is preſcribed. *Moſes* dying, prayeth for one onely to rule the People after his death. In *Jehoſhuah* his Book, you have as compleat as abſolute a Monarch as we plead for, as by expreſs Scripture, in its own place, we ſhall clear by Gods grace. In the Book of *Judges*, the *Sophetim*, the Judges are Monarchs, and not once, but oftener there it is told us, that all Evil was in the Land for want of a King. In the Books of *Samuel*, you have not only the Inſtitutions of Kings, but *Jus Regum* expreſſed. To name the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* is ridiculous. In the Books of *Ezra*, *&c.* Look upon *Cyrus*, *Darius*, &c. As for the New Teſtament, See how Chriſt taught it, practiſed it, and his Apoſtles after him: to point at this is not neceſſary. If our *ſtrait-laced* Brethren would be pleaſed to caſt an eye upon *Apocrypha*, I refer them to *Eccleſiaſticus*, cap. 6. 1, 2, &c. *Hear ye Kings*, &c. *Give ear, you that rule the People, and glory in the multitude of Nations, for Power is given you of the Lord, and Sovereignty from the Higheſt*, &c. Yet fearing this Paſſage will not be current enough among our Sectaries, I point at two paſſages of *David*, till we hear him ſpeak more fully: The one is, *Pſal.* 21. 3. *Thou ſetteſt a Crown of pure Gold upon his head.* The other is, *Pſal.* 84. 44. *Thou haſt made his Glory to ceaſe, and caſt his Throne down to the ground.*

I do

I do confeſs ingenuouſly, it is a great wonder to me, how any man that readeth the Scripture attentively, doth not heartily, and without ſcruple acknowledge, that Kings and Sovereignty are independent from all, and onely derived from God; and that this truth is not onely verified of the Kings of the *Jews*, but all Kings whatſoever. Which truth, we are hopeful, we have confirmed clearly, yet will proceed to add more reaſons, and to remove ſome more of their poor evaſions.

CHAP. IV.

That Kings are onely dependent from God, and not from the Community, is more proved by Scripture. The poor ſhifts of Suarez *and* Bellarmine *are removed, who, abuſing the paſſage* Deut. 17. *would have the Conſtitution of the Kings of* Iſrael *to relate to the People, as its real and proper Origin and Cauſe; and the priviledged Caſe onely this, that God reſerved to himſelf the deſignation of the Perſon of the King.*

THis other ſhift of *Suarez* and *Bellarmine*, in the Title of the Chapter expreſſed, is as poor a one as the other; nor can it hold when it is examined by Scripture and Reaſon. Both the *Jeſuits* and the *Puritans*, their Diſciples, build this quirk upon the naked perverted letter of the Text, that *Deut.* 17. 14, 15.

4, 15. it is ſaid of the People, that they *ſet the King over them*; and upon Gods part it is ſaid, *Him ſhalt thou ſet over thee whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe.* *Ergo*, ſay they, the Conſtitution is the Peoples, the Election of the Perſon is Gods. It is a lame Conſequence; for the words *Conſtitues ſuper te*, Thou ſhalt ſet over thee, are not to be underſtood of Conſtitution by collating, or transferring from them to the King, Majeſty and Sovereignty: but of Conſtitution by way of Approbation, or of accepting of him as King, acknowledging him as a King, reverencing and obeying him as King, whom God hath both deſigned and conſtituted by himſelf King. In this Senſe, we grant a *Conſtitues ſuper te*, a ſetting over thee: and becauſe this is the laſt act in conſtituting a King, that puts that *in fieri in facto eſſe, quaſi ultima diſpoſitio inducens formam*, as the laſt Diſpoſition which induceth the form in the matter, by a ſynecdochical and tropical Speech it is ſo uſually ſpoken. Nor is it unuſual to the Spirit of God in Scripture to ſpeak this way, for it is ſaid, 1 *Cor.* 6. *The Saints judge the World*: Now it is certain, that the Judgment of the Saints is only by approving or conſenting to Chriſts Judgment, which is his only *authoritativè*, properly; and their act in that great Judgment at the laſt day, is only to approve or conſent rather to the righteous Judgment of their Lord: yet Scripture ſtandeth not to ſay, *The Saints ſhall judge the World.* To judge by Authority is only proper to God the Father, by the Son, to whom the Father hath given all Judgment; and this leaveth no place, no Power to the Saints to diſſent. The like holdeth in the Inſtance propoſed.

That

That this is to be conceived ſo (which is our ſixth Argument, to confirm that Kings and their Sovereignty are immediately from God) is more than apparent that Almighty God in Scripture vindicateth to himſelf all the Acts, real and imaginable, which are neceſſary for the making of Kings. If the *Jeſuit* make much of the Letter of the Text, *Deut.* 17. where it's ſaid, *The Lord ſhould chuſe the King, and the People ſet the King over them*; Let us conſider how the Practice interprets the Letter of the Law, it is an infallible Maxim with Juriſts, *Praxis optimus Legis interpres*, Practice is the beſt Commentary of Law: and it is no leſs a ruled caſe, that the firſt preſident is a ruling caſe to all following in that kind. Come then, take the firſt Inſtance in *Saul*, the firſt elected and conſtituted King by the Tenor of this Law. In the practice the Phraſe is varied and turned over, the Election is given to the People, the Conſtitution to God: 1 *Sam.* 12. 13. *Behold the King* (ſaith *Samuel*) *whom you have choſen and deſired, and behold the Lord hath ſet a King over you.* This Election of the People can be no other but their Admittance or Acceptance of the King, whom God had choſen and conſtituted; as the words, *Whom you have deſired*, imply. Scripture telleth us, that *Saul's* Election and Conſtitution was, 1 *Sam.* 9. 17. when God ſaid to *Samuel*, *Behold the man whom I ſpake to thee of, the ſame ſhall reign over my people*; and when *Samuel* took a Viol of Oyl, powred it upon his head, kiſſed him, and ſaid, *Is it not becauſe the Lord hath anointed thee to be Captain over his Inheritance?* 1. *Sam.* 10. 1. Where you have *Samuel* as Prieſt and Prophet anointing, doing Reverence and Obeiſance to him, and aſcribing to God that he did appoint him Supreme and Sovereign over his Inheritance. The ſame

again

again is totally given to God, 1 *Sam*, 12. 13. *The Lord hath ſet a King over you.* The Expreſſion and Phraſe is the ſame with that you have of Chriſt and his Kingdom, *Pſal.* 2. 6. *I have ſet my King upon my holy Hill of Sion.* I am confident none will be ſo ſacrilegiouſly impudent, as to give to Church, to man or Angel, Creature or Creatures, any ſhare in any act of conſtituting Chriſt King over his Church, and for his Church, and in order to it, over all the Kingdoms of the World.

By what is ſaid of this firſt practice it is more than evident, that God in that Law of making Kings *Deut.* 17. did vindicate as proper and peculiar to himſelf, the Deſignation of the perſon of the King, and the inveſting of him in royal Power and Sovereignty. The People then were only to admit and accept of their King by God ſo deſigned and conſtituted, and to yield all Reverence, Obedience, and maintenance neceſſary. It was not arbitrary to them to admit or reject *Saul* ſo deſigned, ſo conſtituted by God himſelf immediately; reject him they could not. Yet God in his wiſe prudent Diſpenſation of all things, judged it expedient to complete and conſummmate this Work by the Acceptation, Conſent, and Approbation of the people, *Ut ſuaviori modo*, that by the ſmoother way he might thus encourage *Saul* to the undergoing of this hard Charge, and make his People the more heartily, without grumbling or ſcruple, Reverence and obey him. As by his Providence he doth all things powerfully, ſo he diſpoſeth of all ἐυχερέως, for the good of man in a ſweet and mild way. This Admittance poſſibly added ſomething to the Solemnity of *Saul*'s inveſting, but nothing to the eſſential or real Conſtitution: as the *Intimation* of a Law, (which in Laws I think hath more

Interest than this Admittance here) it hath no Influence upon a Law made by supreme Power, yet it is useful, it Puts the Subjects *in mala fide*, makes them inexcusable if they contravene. Or this Admittance was and is as the Imperialists say, truly of the Popes Confirmation of the elected Emperour, good *ad pompam*, but not requisite *ad necessitatem*. Or if you will speak with the *Romanists*, that the confirmation is of the Pope once elected, is *ad solemnitatem*, not *ad necessitatem*, for the Solemnity, not simply necessary. Or to come more near and with more certainty and truth; it is like the Coronation of an hereditary King, which is only for Solemnity, not for Necessity: for before that Ceremony and Solemnity his Title is as good as after it; and any act of royal Power and Jurisdiction done before his Coronation is as valid as any done after his Coronation. Or if you will, it is like the Enthronization of a Bishop, or installing of a Canon or Prebend in a Cathedral Church.

Scripture maketh this Good plentifully elsewhere, for it punctually ascribeth all *Acts, essentially constitutive* of Kings, immediately to God. In one full word, *the making of a King* is given to God, 1 *Kings* 3. 7. *And now, O Lord my God, thou hast made thy Servant King instead of David my Father. The providing of a King* is given to God, 1 *Sam.* 16. 1. *I have provided me a King.* The King in a proper and peculiar way is called *Gods King*, *Psal.* 18. 50. *Great deliverance giveth he to his King. God exalteth them*, *Psal.* 89. 19. *I have exalted one chosen out of the People.* Not the People, but *God findeth Kings out*, *ibid. vers.* 20. *I have found* David *my Servant.* Neither Priest, nor Prophet, nor People, really anoint Kings, *God anointeth them*, *ibid. vers.* 20. *With mine holy Oyl have I anointed him.* That we conceive them

Priest

not to have their Prerogative from Pope or People, Prieſt or Prophet, not they but *God adopteth them, ibid.* verſ. 27. *I will make him my firſt-born, That he may cry unto him, Thou art my Father, my God, verſ.* 26. To ſhew their nearer and ſtraiter Alliance, they are taken in *ſocietatem nominis, numinis, poteſtatis*; into a communion of his Majeſty, his Name, Power; it is ſaid, *Pſal.* 82. 6. *I have ſaid, ye are Gods.* To ſhew their Generation, their Procreation, their Derivation; there is a *dixit* to this too, *I have ſaid ye are all of you the Children of the moſt High*; not *terræ filii, Cadmus* offſpring, ſprung out of the Earth.

Kings then are not made, provided, choſen, found, exalted, anointed, adopted, by Saints, by People, by Pope, by Presbytery, by any diffuſive, collective, repreſentative, virtual Body of the Community; but by and of God alone: for their Power, their Sovereiguty they are *dii* אלהים *Elohim*; the manner of Propagation, Derivation, Communication, is by Filiation, by Adoption, they are *filii Excelſi*, the Sons of the moſt High, and for eminency above all, they are the firſt born; this is the Language of *Canaan*, it is the Language of *Aſhdod* to ſay, that a King is *minor univerſis, ſingulis major.* Scripture Reaſon ſpeak the contrary; *primogenitus*, the firſt-born is not above every Brother ſeverally; but if there were thouſands, millions, numberleſs numbers, he is above all in Dignity, in Precedency, in Power. It is ſtatuted by God in the beginning of the World, that the younger Brother, and Brethren all of them, *ſub te erit appetitus ejus & tu dominaberis illius*; *Unto thee, or ſubject unto thee, ſhall be his deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him. Gen.* 4. 7.

To return a little to the Practice of the Law, in conſtituting *David* King; you find it was not the diffuſive,

fuſive, the collective Body of *Iſrael*, that found *David*, choſe him, exalted him, anointed him, *&c.* It was God alone; it was not the Elders of *Bethlehem*, his own City, neither they nor the other knew of it, 1 *Sam.* 16.4. Nor were the Saints ſharers in this work with God, they knew nothing of it, *Pſal.* 89.19. Nay, not *Samuel* the Prophet, had it been he, it had not been King *David* but King *Eliab*. It is worthy of our labour to take notice, how the anointing of Kings is wholly attributed to God in Scripture, and other Kings, beſides the Kings of *Judea*, are called *The Lords Anointed*. Which is more than evident by what is before expreſſed: the phraſe of Scripture is very emphatical; *They are anointed with his holy Oyl*: the Act is his, *He anoints*: *The holy Oyl is his*, He anoints with his Oyl: this Oyl is *ſacred* too; it is not every Oyl, but his Oyl, and his ſacred Oyl. *Sacred Oyl* it is, which how it can be ſo denominated, and come from the People, as its firſt ſubject and Seat, its Origine and Source, is not conceivable in Reaſon. *Sacred* it is in three reſpects. Firſt, from a ſacred Fountain, a ſacred Efficient, from God himſelf. 2. Next, for its ſacred Influence upon the Perſon, it makes the Perſon of the King Sacred. 3. For its influence upon the Charge, the Function, his Power, his Authority is Sacred too. And both the Perſon and the Charge are Supreme, which is moſt fitly reſembled in the Sacramental Ceremony of Oyl, put Oyl in whatſoever Liquor you will it ſwimmeth above in the ſurface.

Now all this is ſo intirely and ſolely given to God, that neither Prieſt nor People, Pope nor Presbytery have any part in it, *Pſal.* 89. 20. *With mine holy Oyl have I anointed him.* God finds the Oyl and the hand to

to do it. You will ſay, *Samuel*'s hand did it. The Principle of the Law will take away this Scruple; *Quod quis facit per alium, facit per ſe*: What one doth by another, he doth that by himſelf. *Samuel* was onely the Delegate, God was the Principal and Delegant; and in reaſon the Act muſt be referred to the Principal. The Oyl was God's too, not from the Apothecaries ſhop, nor the Prieſt's Vial, this Oyl deſcended from the Holy Ghoſt, who is no leſs the *true Olive* than Chriſt is the *true Vine*. Yet I pray you miſtake it not, to account it of the holy Oyl of *Gratia gratum faciens*, *Saving Grace*, as ſome Fanaticks and Fantaſticks fondly imagine: this is a ſacred Oyl, to make the Perſon and Function Sacred, as we have ſaid.

Our ſeventh Argument to prove that *Sovereignty in a King is immediately from God*, and not from the diffuſive, collective, repreſentative, or virtual Body of the Community, is that all *Royal Enſigns and Acts* of Kings are aſcribed to God. If Kings were the Derivatives of the People and Community, in whom is that fanſied, underived Majeſty? how comes it to paſs that the holy Spirit hath not in any place or ſyllable of Scripture intimated it? and how cometh it to paſs, that in ſuch a particular way and enumeration all are given to God? 1. *Their Crown is of God*, by putting it on their head. *Iſai* 62. 3. *The Royal Diadem is in the hand of the Lord.* Pſal. 21. 3. *Thou putteſt a Crown of pure Gold upon his head.* Hence it was that the Emperour's Coin of old was printed with an hand coming out of Heaven, and putting it on their head. The very Heathen did term them θεοστεῖς, as having and holding their Crowns from God: Their Sword is God's, and he girdeth them with it. *David*

Profeſſeth ſo much, *Pſal.* 18. 39. *For thou haſt girded me with ſtrength* (the Sword is the Emblem of ſtrength) *unto the Battel.* See *Judges* 7. 17. 3. *Their Scepter is the Scepter of God, Exod.* 4. 20. and 17. 9. The Hebrew word *Sebet* ſignifieth no leſs Scepter than Rod. It is a miraculous one too: We read onely of two miraculous Rods, *Moſes*'s and *Aaron*'s. By *Moſes*'s rod what wonders were wrought in *Egypt*, and what a Miracle was it that the rod of *Aaron* budded, and none elſe of the twelve Tribes? and for what purpoſe was it that God made both the one and the other miraculous? Was it not to manifeſt to the World, that the Sovereign Power of a King, as *Moſes* was King of *Jeſhurun*, and high Sacred Power of the High Prieſt, and the Tribe of *Levi*, were not by Derivation, by Tranſlation, by Communication from the People, but immediately, independently from God himſelf? He is well nigh out of his Wits, that will make any thing miraculous the Work and Effect of the Multitude. 4. *Their judgment is the judgment of the Lord,* 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. Again, 5. *Their Throne is the Throne of God,* 1 *Chron.* 19. 21.

The ancient Fathers and Councels uſed the ſame diction; they called 1. Their Writings, *ſacri apices.* 2. Their Preſence, *ſacra veſtigia.* 3. Their Majeſty, *ſacra Majeſtas.* 4. Their Words, their Commands, *divalis juſſio.* The Law ſpeaketh the ſame Language; and whatſoever goods belonged to them, they are called *res ſacræ.* See *Briſſonius* his *Lexicon lib.* 7. in the *Sacras.*

Being that in Holy Scripture, in reverend Antiquity, and in the Law, all their Enſigns, all their Royal Acts, their Perſons, their Right, their Goods, are denominated Sacred, and given to God himſelf: how

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can our new Statiſts, againſt the expreſſions of the Holy Spirit, of the Holy Fathers, and of Juriſts, honour Kings no better, but to call them Derivatives of the People? Is this to ennoble them? No truly, it diſgraces Kings, it maketh them the baſeſt Extract of the baſeſt of Rational Creatures, the Multitude, the Community. It is certainly untrue, if it be not blaſphemous againſt God and the King, to fix, as in its firſt ſeat and receptacle, *an underived Majeſty* in the Community, where there is not one of a thouſand an intelligent and knowing man. It is certainly high Treaſon againſt God and the King.

A world of Reaſons to prove that Kings are independent from all, and ſolely dependent from God, may be brought from Scripture; but becauſe we intend brevity, and haſte to other things, we point at ſome few to be conſidered and enlarged by the judicious Reader himſelf.

As firſt, to whom can it be more proper to give the Rule over men, than to him who is the onely King truly and properly of the whole World?

2. Next, God is the immediate Author of all Rule and Power that is amongſt all his Creatures above or below, why then ſhould we ſeclude him from being the immediate Author of Government of Empire amongſt men.

3. Thirdly, Man in the ſtate of Innocency, in his firſt Creation received Dominion and Empire over all the Creatures below, *Gen.* 1. 28. *Repleniſh the Earth, and ſubdue it, and have dominion over the fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth.* Again, after the Fall, *Gen.* 9. 2. *The fear of you, and the dread of you ſhall be upon every Beaſt of the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the*

Air, upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the Fiſhes of the Sea, into your hand are they delivered. Can we be ſo ſtupid, as to acknowledge the dominion over all the Creatures below, is given to man immediately from God, and to deny that the moſt noble and excellent Government, by which man hath Power and Empire over men is not from God, by his Inſtitution and Conſtitution, but by the Compact and Contract, the Compoſition and Conſtitution of men?

4. Fourthly, To demonſtrate their immediate derivation from God: that their Power is immediately from him, is more than apparent by this reaſon. They who exerciſe the Judgment of God, muſt needs have their Power to judge from God: But ſo it is that Kings by themſelves and their Deputies exerciſe the Judgments of God. The Propoſition is ſure, and is both confirmed and illuſtrated by conſidering how that Church-men are rightly ſaid to have received their Miniſterial Power from God and Chriſt, becauſe God by them reconciles the World to himſelf, and ſaves mankind, 2 *Cor.* 5. 17, 18, 19, 20. 1 *Tim.* 4. 16. How is it imaginable that they can be ſaid to judge in God's place, and not receive the Power from God? The aſſumption is as evident by expreſs words of Scripture; ſee *Deut.* 1. 17. 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. Let no man ſtumble at this, that *Moſes* in the one place, and *Joſaphat* in the other, ſpeak to ſubordinate Judges under them; this weakeneth no wayes our Argument, for it is a ruled Caſe in Law, *Quod quis facit per alium, facit per ſe*; all Judgments of inferiour Judges are in the Name, Authority, and by the Power of the Supreme; and are but communicatively and derivatively from the Sovereign Power.

5. Fifthly,

5. Fifthly, Not onely their Power is of God, their *Judiciaria poteſtas*, but the very Execution of it. They are the Miniſters of God in the execution of their Charge and Power; *ergò*, their Charge and Power is immediately from God. All the teſtimonies of Scripture wherein they are called Gods confirm the Antecedent, and eſpecially thoſe where the Supreme Governour is called, the Servant, the Miniſter, the Angel, the Publick Servant of God: Doth not this Argument hold in the Miniſtry? Doctors and Preachers of the Church diſcharging their Charge are called the Ambaſſadours, the Legates, the Miniſters of God; and from hence we conclude neceſſarily, that the Miniſtry is from God and Chriſt. The Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 4, 5, 6, calleth the Supreme Magiſtrate thrice, διάκονος, and λειτουργὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, and pregnantly expreſſeth, that the King in the execution of his Charge is doing Service to God, *verſ.* 4. *He is the Miniſter of God to thee for good.* But if thou do that which is evil, *be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain.* Again, *He is the Miniſter of God, a Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.* Again, *verſ.* 6. *For they are Gods Miniſters, attending continually upon this very thing.* The Greek προσκαρτεροῦντες, is well rendred *attending continually*, and is in its nature Active, and ſo looketh to the execution of his Charge properly. In the Book of *Wiſd. cap.* 6. 5. The Author attributeth to God βασιλείαν, to Kings and Rulers, the Miniſtery onely; ὑπήκοοι, ὄντες τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. There can be no Argument better to prove, that both their Sovereign Power and execution of it is from God, than that properly and primarily God Almighty is King, and all Kings related to him are onely equivocally ſo; for he is *Rex regum, & Dominus dominantium*

nantium, 1 *Tim.* 6. 15. *Revel.* 1. 5. & 21. 27. & 19. 20. & 17. 14. He is King of Kings, and Lords of Lords, ὄντως κατ' ἀλήθειαν, truly ſo; Kings upon Earth, are only ſuch, κατὰ δόξαν, more in Reſemblance than Reality, and betwixt the one and the other, the Kings of Heaven, and Kings on Earth, no more proportion than is betwixt Heaven and Earth, a thing finite and infinite: For this cauſe Scripture, *Mark* 10. 41. ſpeaketh no better of Kings and Princes on Earth, than that they are οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν, not ſo much truly men that have Empire and Rule, as ſuch that appear to be ſo; from whence then ſhall we derive Sovereignty and Royalty but from that true Royalty and Sovereignty in God alone.

6. Sixthly, the Power and Grace by which they are inabled for ſo high a Charge and Employment is only from Almighty God, then by neceſſary Conſequence, the Charge muſt be ſolely and only from him. The Connexion is natural, for in right Reaſon, to whom can it be due to give a Charge of this Concernment properly, but only to him who is able to give the Endowments, and *hability* for that Charge? Now that the Endowment is from God immediately, the ſacramental Ceremony of anointing ſheweth it, and that exactly they are called the *Lords Anointed*. We need not uſe ſymbolical Arguments, ſeeing the Schools allow them no convincing force, the Holy Spirit hath given it to us in plain and natural Terms right down. Of *Othniel* the firſt Judge after *Joſhua*, it is ſaid, *Judges* 3. 10. *And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he judged Iſrael.* The like you have ſpoken of *Saul*, after that he was anointed and appointed King of *Iſrael*, 1 *Sam.* 10. & 11. and elſewhere. The ſame is ſaid of *David*, 1 *Sam.* 17. Very know-

knowing men in Divinity interpret the Paſſage *Prov.* 20. 12. *The hearing Ear, and the ſeeing Eye, the Lord hath made even both of them*: that the Facility to rule well, and the Grace to obey Rulers, both of them are of God immediately: by the hearing Ear underſtanding the actual Obedience of the Subject; and by the ſeeing eye, the actual Government and Empire of the Sovereign: the interpretation is according to the analogy of ſacred and divine Truth. If any be contentious to hold it is not the native Senſe of the Text, we will not conteſt or contend unneceſſarily, ſeeing we have plain places to the ſame Purpoſe. *David* profeſſeth and acknowledgeth, that the Subjection of his People to him, was the immediate Work of God, *Pſal.* 144, 2. The like ſee 1 *Sam.* 10. 26. when *Saul* was conſtituted King, ſome deſpiſed him, but thoſe *whoſe hearts God had touched*, followed and reverenced him.

7. Seventhly, where Sovereign power is, as in Kings, there is *Authority* and Majeſty, a ray of divine Glory. But this cannot be found in people, they cannot be the ſubject of it, whether you conſider them *joyntly* or *ſingly*. If you conſider them *ſingly*, it cannot be, for this is not to be found in every individual; and according to our Antimonarchical Sectaries, all by native Right are equally equal born with a like Freedom. If it be not in the People conſidered *ſingly*, it cannot be derived from them, being conſidered *joyntly*, for all the Contribution in this compact and Contract which they fancie to be humane Compoſition, and voluntary Conſtitution, is only by a Surrender of the native Right, every individual hath in himſelf, from whence then can this Majeſty and Authority be derived? Again, where the Obligation is amongſt

amongſt equals by Compact and Contract, Violation of the Faith plighted in the Contract cannot in proper Terms be called Diſobedience or Contempt of Authority: it is no more but a receding from, and Violation of that which was promiſed, as it may be in States or Cantons confederate. Nature, Reaſon, Conſcience, Scripture teach, that Diſobedience to ſovereign Power is not only Violation of Truth, Breach of Covenant, but alſo high Diſobedience and Contempt. That this Authority is in Princes, it is evident by ſenſe, by Experience, by Scripture, by the Confeſſion of the Heathen. The paſſage we did alledge before proveth this, 1 *Sam.* 10. 26. To that Paſſage, add that *cap.* 11. that when *Saul* hewed a Yoke of Oxen in pieces, and intimated, that whoſoever came not forth after him, ſo it ſhould be done as to his Oxen: ſuch was the Authority, that the Text ſaith, *The Fear of the Lord fell on the People, and they came out with one Conſent*, 1 *Sam.* 11. 7. This is well expreſſed by *Job*, *cap.* 12. *verſ.* 18. *He looſeth the Bond of Kings, and girdeth their Loins with a Girdle.* By the firſt Expreſſion, *He looſeth the Bond of Kings*, *Job* meaneth, that when God is to caſt off Kings, and to throw their Honour in the duſt, He looſeth their Authority, and bringeth them and it in Contempt. By the other Phraſe, *and girdeth their Loyns with a Girdle*, *Job* intimateth, that when he is to preſerve Kings and their Rights, that he ſtrengtheneth them with Authority, and maketh people reverence them. That this is the meaning, you may conceive it by what he ſaith, *v.* 21. *He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and weakneth the Strength of the Mighty.* By this Authority and Majeſty *Solomon* inveſted in Royalty, diſſipated *Adonijah* and all his treacherous Complices.

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The Heathen have observed, that in Princes there is θεῖον τι, something divine, above the reach of man, which cannot be derived from them. If we may believe prophane Story, this Majesty was so eminent in *Alexander* the Great, that it was a Terrour to his Enemies, a Power strong enough to compose seditious Counsels and Attempts, a powerful Load-stone to draw the Counsels of his most experienced Commanders to imbrace and obey his Counsels, his Commands. Some Stories write, that this Majesty was resplendent upon great Exigents in the Eyes of *Scipio*. What was that which kept *Pharaoh* from lifting up his hand against *Moses*, who charged him so boldly with his Sins, denounced and brought so terrible, so great Plagues upon him? What was it I pray you, but this Authority and Majesty resplendent in him, which was a curb to the Tyranny of his Malice and Power? When *Moses* did speak face to face with *God* in the Mount, and when he came down that his Face shined, so that the People could not behold it till it was covered with a Veil, what else was it but this resplendent Glory of Majesty? *Exod.* 34. What else was it that repressed the Fury of the People enraged against *Gideon* for destroying their Idol, but this Majesty? *Judg.* 6. And as by Gods Ordinance we see that the Fear and Terrour of man is upon all the Creatures living below, *Gen.* 9. So what else can this Fear and Reverence which is innate in the Hearts of all Subjects towards their Sovereigns be, but the Ordinance unrepealable of God, and the natural Effect of that Majesty in Princes, with which they are endowed from above.

8. Eighthly, this seemeth or rather is an Argument unanswerable to prove sovereign Power to be independ-

dependently and immediately from above; That Sovereign Power is armed with *Potestas vitæ & necis*, Power of Life and Death, which cannot flow or issue from man, for no man hath it; None can lay claim to it, but the *living God*, the Author of Life, who killeth and giveth Life again. That Sovereign Power hath this power is so certain as it cannot be denied: *Gen.* 9. in the restoring of the World after the Flood, 1. First, God reiterates the Blessing of increasing and multiplying, *v.* 1. The same which in his Bounty he bestowed on *Adam* and *Evah*, *Gen.* 1. 28. 2. Next he establisheth mans Sovereignty over the Creatures here beneath, *v.* 2, 3. 3. Thirdly, he establisheth the civil Government, *v.* 5, 6. where first he challengeth the Power to himself in one main thing explicitly, in the punishing or shedding of mans Blood to Death, but implicitly in all Government; for the parts of Government being all *homogenious*, of one kind, we must refer all to one Origine, which is God. The words are, *v.* 5. *Surely the Blood of your Lives will I require: at the hand of every Beast will I require it; and at the hand of man, and at the hand of every mans Brother will I require the Life of man.* In which words clearly it is told, the Right is Gods primarily properly, thrice in the words God vindicates it, I will require it, I will require it, I will require it. Lest any should think that God is to do it immediately by his own hand, and not otherwise, *v.* 6. it is added, *Who so sheddeth mans Blood, by man shall his Blood be shed again: for in the Image of God made he man.* Here is the Institution of Sovereignty, and here the Sovereign is invested as Gods Deputy, to punish the Slayer of man by Death. I hope none will conceive it so, that any man whatsoever may do this, and is invested with this Power. This were a mighty dis-

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order and Confusion. Nothing can be more pernicious to mankind, and opposite to God and his Ordinance, *who is the God of Order and not of Confusion.* The words in the original are שֹׁפֵךְ דַּם הָאָדָם בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשָּׁפֵךְ *Schopheck dam haadam, baadam damo jischapheck.* It is well rendered in our *English* Bibles, *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his Blood be shed.* The old Translation is imperfect, *Quicunque effuderit hominum sanguinem, fundetur sanguis illius.* We will grant to *Bellarmine*, that the Sense is not corrupted in this Translation, but will never yield that it is not imperfect, for the main and cardinal word, *Baadam, per hominem*, by the Cardinal's Leave, is omitted: Let the Cardinal say what he will, whom you may look upon *L. 2. de verb. Dei, cap. 12.* Nor do we think that the Interpretation we have from the *Septuagint* is full enough, which is, ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἀνθρώπου, τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται; *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis, pro sanguine hominis ejus effundetur. Psal. 2.* And with Reverence we dissent too from *Arias Montanus*, and *Pagnin*'s Translations, *Effundens sanguinem hominis, in homine sanguis ejus effundetur*: my Reasons, with humble Submission to better Judgment, and Reverence to so great men, are 1. First, *Baadam in homine*, or *per hominem*, cannot in Grammar be added to the Subject or Antecedent, *Effundens sanguinem*, but must belong to the predicate or consequent, *sanguis ejus effundetur*; and so the compleat and perfect Sense is, *Effundens sanguinem hominis, per hominem sanguis ejus effundetur*: just as our Bibles english it, *Who so sheddeth mans Blood, by man shall his Blood be shed.* The Reason of this, because in the original the accent *Zakephkathon*, which maketh, as the Grammarians say, *incisum majus*, a Distinction is put above the word *Haadam*

dam, ſo that *Baadam* is to be joyned to the next: the like reading you may find in the very verſe immediately preceding. Next, this ב both in *Baadam* ſignifieth no leſs *per* than *in*, *by* than *in*; and *by* is the Prepoſition which expreſſeth the inſtrumental Cauſe; and conſequently it importeth one Gods Inſtrument, who is authorized from him. 3. Thirdly, the *Jews* in their *Thargum*, their *Chaldee* Paraphraſe or Tranſlation turn the words ſo; that they underſtand this *Baadam*, by man, of the Judge, who from God is authorized with Power. *Unkelos* turneth it thus; *Qui effuderit ſanguinem hominis, cum teſtibus, ſive per teſtes, juxta ſententiam judicum, ſanguis ejus effundetur.* *Jonathan* giveth the Senſe thus; *Qui effuderit ſanguinem hominis per teſtes, condemnabunt eum Judices ad necem, & qui effuderit abſque teſtibus, Dominus mundi olim vindictam ab eo ſumet in die Judicii.* Both of them agree in this, that the reading is thus, *Who ſo ſheddeth the bloud of man, by man ſhall his bloud be ſhed*; and both of them conceive it ſo, that this *Baadam*, this *Per hominem*, this *by man*, is not every man, but the Judge authorized from God; or both from God and his Sovereign. 4. Fourthly, to ſay, *Qui effuderit ſanguinem hominis in homine, ſanguis ejus effundetur*, He that ſheddeth the bloud of man in man, his bloud ſhall be ſhed, is neither ſo good, nor ſo perfect and full a ſenſe, as *Quicunque effuderit ſanguinem hominis, per hominem ſanguis ejus effundetur*, Who ſo ſheddeth man's bloud, by man ſhall his bloud be ſhed. 5. Fifthly and laſtly, if you value not the Teſtimony or Paraphraſe of *Unkelos* and *Jonathan*, (although *Franciſcus Xymenius* and other Learned men, judge the Paraphraſe of the *Thargum* upon the Law true and faithful) take an Argument for it uncontroulable, that is our Saviour's, *Matth.* 6. *verſ.* 52.

v. 52. *All they that take the Sword ſhall periſh with the Sword.* Saint *Auſtin* telleth us, that the New Teſtament is veiled in the Old, and *Vetus Teſtamentum revelatur in Novo*, and the Old Teſtament is revealed in the New. A better Commentary of God's Speeches and Words we cannot have, than λόγος τῦ θεῦ, and λόγος θεὸς, than the Son, the Word of God, and that Word which is God. In Chriſt's Speech, *ſhall periſh by the Sword*, in the Phraſe and Dialect of Scripture we can underſtand nothing elſe but the Sovereign Power that beareth the Sword. Let the Apoſtle interpret the Maſter: Saint *Paul*, Rom. 13. 1. He commandeth Subjection and Obedience to Superior Powers, ὑπερεχούσαις ἐξουσίαις: and *v.* 6. He telleth you, *He beareth not the Sword in vain.*

The words thus cleared, we ſum up our Argument thus. God onely hath the Power of man's Life. No man hath Power over his own Life. Whoſo taketh away the Life of man, in God's Juſtice and Ordinance his Life is to be taken away again. This principally and properly belongeth to God, *v.* 5. *I will require*, &c. but God hath given this to ſome Deputies: This Power is not given to every one, as the terrour of an ill Conſcience made *Cain* ſay, *Whoſoever findeth me ſhall kill me.* This were to deſtroy mankind, and make God the God of Diſorder and Confuſion. Some man it is then by Diſtinction and Excellency who is God's Deputy, and then this can be none elſe but he in whom is Sovereign Power, and this Power is from none elſe but from God Almighty: And if this power over Life be from God, why not all Sovereign Power? ſeeing it is *homogenous*, and as *Juriſts* ſay, *in indiviſibili poſita*, a thing indiviſible in its nature, that cannot be diſtracted, put away, nor impaired; as a

Crown, take any part from it, is no more a Crown. When God gave this Order, the World knew well enough what this *Baadam, by man* was; neither before this time, nor at this time, knew the World any kind of Government but Monarchical: And this Monarch was *Noah*.

9. Ninthly, As their Judiciary and Sovereign Power *in actu signato*, the Execution and Exercise of Royal Power *in actu exercito*, is given to God Almighty, as to its first and proper Origine and Source; so all the Acts done by Kings are ascribed to God, and we find them the immediate Instruments by whom God worketh here the greatest works of Justice, when he is to punish men, and the greatest works of Mercy when he is to bless them. That both for the one and the other, they are called his Servants; His axe, his rod; and the works they do, to be such as he hath prepared of old. In the work of Justice, punishing his People, look upon *Nebuchadnezzar*. See what God fore-telleth by *Isaiah*, by *Jeremy*: In the work of Mercy extraordinary, look upon *Cyrus*: and for the Actions both of the one and the other, consider Scripture, and consider if they be not particularly and immediately given to God in all their parts, their acts as if they were nothing but dead and lifeless Instruments. See the places above-cited, which before we have named, and for brevities sake we now omit. To this Argument may be added the immediate working God hath upon their Hearts, their Counsels; that their heart is in the hand of the Lord, as a Boat in the Rivers of Waters; how God sendeth them in their Expeditions, their Wars; maketh them in his day, his appointed day, to set their face against *Jerusalem*, or otherwise; casteth his hook in their nostrils, &c.

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bring them back with ſhame. To this Argument may be referred, that when God is to bleſs a People, he ſendeth them good Kings, the Sons of Nobles; when he is to ſcourge them, naughty Kings, weak children, &c. The Teſtimonies of Scripture for all theſe are infinite, many, and obvious, which we remit to the Reader's memory, or diligent ſearch.

10. Tenthly, Nor is to be paſſed by, that the Sovereign immenſe Majeſty of God is expreſſed by ſtiling and denominating him King, and his Supreme glory is repreſented by ſitting on a glorious Throne. See *Iſaiah*, ſee *Daniel*, and the Prophets. Let us beware then that we make not God a Derivative too of the People, and a Creature of mens making.

11. Eleventhly, In the Scripture we read that onely three kinds of men were anointed, Kings, Prieſts, Prophets: Let any give an inſtance of a fourth beſides thoſe three. It is granted of all, that Prieſts and Prophets have Sacred Charges, and are Sacred Perſons of God's immediate making and Conſtitution; why then ſhall not Kings have the ſame Prerogative, to be immediately from God, Sacred in themſelves, Sacred in their Charge, by Divine Ordinance and Appointment?

12. Laſtly, To cloſe up this firſt part of our Proof from Scripture, it is a ſtrong Reaſon to perſwade Sovereignty, Authority, and Majeſty to be from God immediately, and independently from any others, in what conſideration ſoever, that the irreverence, diſobedience, contempt, rebellion, or any wrong whatſoever offered to their Perſons, to their Authority, is wrong and contempt offered to God himſelf. See 1 *Sam.* 8. This made *David* ſay, *Who can touch the Lords Anointed and be innocent?* This made the Apo-

ſtle ſay, *Rom.* 13. 2. *Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt receive to themſelves damnation.* The like Phraſe to the firſt you have of the Sacred Miniſtry in the Apoſtles, 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 8. *He therefore that deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not man but God.* When the People murmured againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, in the Law you have, *They murmure not againſt you but me.* The like you have in *Samuel.* The reſult of all is, That as the Sacred Miniſtry is by Collation immediately or independently from God, although the deſignation of the Perſon may be by men and the Church; ſo Kings may be perſonally deſigned and deputed to Royalty and Sovereignty, by *Election*, *Succeſſion*, *Conqueſt*, or any other lawful poſſible way; but their Sovereignty and Power is by Donation and Collation immediately and ſolely from God, and refers to him as the only Donor and Author. Again, as the Perſon and Function of ſuch as are lawfully inveſted with Sacred Power, and in Sacred Orders, is Inviolable and Sacred, ſo are the Perſons and Sovereignty of Kings.

Our order propoſed in the beginning of this Treatiſe, chargeth us now to produce our Proofs from Reverend Antiquity. But I muſt beg leave of the Chriſtian Reader, to diſcover the weakneſs and wickedneſs of a new-deviſed trick of our Sectaries, That the *King is God's*, but not *Chriſt's Vicegerent.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

All Christian Kings are dependent from Christ, and may be called his Vice-gerents.

WHereas hitherto by expreſs Scripture, and by Arguments from thence by neceſſary conſequence deduced, we have proved, That Kings and their Sovereignty are immediately dependent from God, and dependent from no other: Conceive it not ſo, that hereby we ſeclude Chriſt, and him conſidered, not onely κατ' ὑπόστασιν perſonally, as the Second Perſon in the Trinity, but alſo κατ' οἰκονομίαν, in his Capacity, as God-man, the Saviour and Redeemer of the World.

Our Sectaries have found out a quirk, or trick rather, of late, to hold and argue, That *Kings are Gods, not Chriſt's Lieutenants upon Earth.* Their purpoſe is the ſame in ſubſtance with the *Romaniſts*, although they differ in ſomething; for the *Romaniſts* and *Puritans* both of them erect in every Kingdom another Sovereign, not onely beſides the true Sovereign, but alſo above. In this they agree, and are like *Sampſon*'s Foxes, who have their Tails knit together, and do carry this Fire-brand to conſume Church and State. In one other they differ extremely, for the *Romaniſt* and *Jeſuit* will have it to be the *Pope*, the *Puritan* and Sectaries fix this Sovereignty in the *Presbytery.*

We believe, with warrant of Scripture and ſound Antiquity, that all Crowns and Scepters, Kings and States, are dependent from Chriſt the Son of God,

as he is Θεάνθρωπος, God and man, the Saviour of the World, and Head of the Church.

We intend not at this time to discuss that curious Question, *Whether or not by Hereditary Right Christ was born King of the Jews*: We are speaking at this time of Christs Kingdom, as the Head of the Church, in order to all the Kingdoms of the World. The Kingdom we speak of is not what was due to him, as the *Son of David*, but as he was the *Saviour and Redeemer of* David *and all the World*. The right to which he had *by Hypostatical Union, and his perfect Merit and plenteous Redemption*. Some very Learned men do hold, that Christ was not entitled to this Kingdom till his Resurrection, and that then he had *Jus quæsitum*, as the Jurists speak. There is not much danger to hold this or deny it, but with reverence to their great Parts, and humble submission to better Reasons, I dissent from them, and do think, however it may be granted, that then he came to exercise it fully and perfectly; or if you will, that a new Title and Right did accrue to him, that what he had before by *Hypostatical Union onely*, now he had it by another supervenient *Right of Merit*, and so had it *duplici Titulo*, as Saint *Bernard* saith of him in another case: yet for any thing I could yet see, I am of the mind from the first instant and moment of his Incarnation, as God-man, the Head of his Church, *By the grace of Hypostatical Union* he was *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. It cannot be denied, that while he was in the form and state of a Servant, *in statu κενώσεως*, in the state of Humiliation, as by the no less mysterious than admirable and wise Oeconomy of God, the Glory of his Deity did not conspicuously and ordinarily shine thorow the veil of his Flesh, no more did this Majesty and Glory

of

of his Sovereignty and Kingdom ſhine forth to the Eyes of men. God in his unſearchable Wiſdom having appointed, that *the Kingdom of God ſhould not come with obſervation*, and that the *Jews* might be rectified in their judgment, who did not expect a ſpiritual King and Deliverer, but a *Meſſiah*, to reign temporally over them, and by him to enjoy all external Plenty, Peace and Happineſs. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was the merciful and bountiful diſpenſation of God in this cloudy and dark Oeconomy, that ſometimes thorow the thick and dark cloud of his Fleſh and Infirmity, ſome little rayes of his immenſe Majeſty did appear, as in his miraculous Operations; even ſo in the ſame manner, at many times, and by many acts, his Sovereignty was manifeſted; and that he was truly King, it was evidenced. *At his Birth*, The Wiſe men who came from the Eaſt worſhipped him in his Swadling-clouts: They are in Scripture, and by the conſtant not interrupted courſe of the Church to this day commended for it. *In his Miniſtry*, he entred *Jeruſalem* in Royal Pomp: His Diſciples and a great multitude did him obeyſance, gave him Royal Honour: and when the *Jews* grumbled at it, he told them that it was not onely juſt but neceſſary; That if they and the People did hold their Peace, the Stones would proclaim him King, and do him Royal Homage. *In his Arraignment*, when he is to lay down his Soul for his Sheep, he avouched himſelf, before *Pilate*, a King. *Pilate* demands the Queſtion, *Art thou a King? Pilate* underſtood not any Kingdom in his Queſtion but a temporal one; a Spiritual Kingdom in his conception was a meer Notion, Fancy, Chimæra: Chriſt without diſſimulation, equivocation, or mental reſervation, *ad mentem interrogantis* anſwereth, he was a King. *Matth.* 27.11.

27. 11. *Mark.* 15. 2. *He had it written upon his Cross*: *Buried*, He had his Grave ſealed as a King.

Theſe things thus premiſed, we come to prove that Kings are Chriſts Vicegerents and Lieutenants upon the face of the Earth, 1. Our firſt proof is, the place we inſiſted much in before, *Prov.* 8. 15. by what is ſaid, it is more than apparent, that *By me Kings reign*, hath this Senſe, By me Wiſdom, the Son of God, the Word that was made Fleſh, Kings reign: you may find many Reaſons by reviewing the moſt learned and moſt pious Biſhops Sermons, *Dr. Andrews*, whoſe Memory ſhall ever be in everlaſting Benediction. 1. Firſt *Prov.* 30. 4. This Wiſdom is called the Son of God. 2. Next this prepoſition *Per*, By, it is the proper and peculiar prepoſition of Chriſt. 3. Thirdly, it is not very congruous that as by Chriſt we have all Bleſſings ſpiritual in heavenly things, ſo by him we have Kings his Derivatives conſtituted, the beſt and moſt eminent of temporal Bleſſings. 4. Fourthly, Chriſt he is Wiſdom, and by him all Bleſſings iſſuing from Mercy; Kingdoms ſubſiſt more by Wiſdom than by Power; why ſhall we not then from this Wiſdom eſtabliſh Kings and their Sovereignty? The proper Work of Wiſdom is *ordinare*, to order, and to eſtabliſh Order; Why then ſhall not all Monarchy refer its Origine *to this Wiſdom*? 5. Laſtly, the original word, בי *Bi*, is both *in me*, *& per me*, *in me and by me*, to intimate, as we ſaid before, that Kings are firſt in him, and ſo come forth from him; and yet come ſo forth *from him*, that they are *in him*; Chriſt in them as *his Deputies*; They in him as their *Author* and *Authoriſer*; He by their *Perſons*; They by his *Power*.

2. Our

2. Our ſecond Proof we bring from that Scripture averreth that Chriſt is not only King of his Church, but in *Order to his Church*, King over all the Kings and Kingdoms of the Earth. Chriſts Kingdom over his Church. *Pſal.* 11. 6. 15. in theſe words expreſſed *I have ſet my King upon my holy Hill* Sion. Over the whole World, in theſe Words, *v.* 8. *I ſhall give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the Earth for thy Poſſeſſion*: which is not to be ſcantled by conceiving it only of the calling of the Gentiles to the Communion of his Church, but alſo of his Sovereignty over all the Earth and Kings of the Earth. This Ordinance is by Appointment, and a decree irrepealable. *v.* 7. *I will declare the Decree.* The words, *I ſhall give thee*, demonſtrate that this *poteſtas* is not *æterna & interna*, that eternal Power which is inſeparable from him as God, but *data & externa*, a given and beſtowed Power, which is not conceivable in Chriſt, but κατ' οἰκονομίαν, as man, or God-man, our Saviour and Redeemer.

3. A third Proof may be this, that as this was foretold by Prophecy, ſo in the Fullneſs of time it was really effected and accompliſhed. *Matth.* 28. 18. Our Saviour ſaith; *All Power is given to me in Heaven and in Earth.* The word *Given*, ſheweth this Power is fixed in that *Capacity* by which he is our Saviour, *all Power in Heaven and Earth*, univerſally is expreſſed, *all Power*, and by Diſtribution exegetically amplified, all Power in Heaven and Earth, which will not admit nor permit, that we exclude Sovereignty in Kings. *Ubi Lex non diſtinguit, nemo diſtinguere debet.* Let our Adverſaries ſhew where Kings and their Crowns are exempted or excepted from this, *all Power in Earth.*

4. Fourth-

4. Fourthly the Apoſtle St. *Paul*, *Heb.* 1. 2. telleth us that God hath appointed the *Son*, by whom he hath ſpoken to us in the laſt days, *Heir of all things*. If this Inheritance be not over Kings, we are infinitely miſtaken; and if Kings refer not their Right to him as Donor, they have no juſt Title.

5. Fifthly, The Scripture to take away all Cavils, hath given us this Truth *in terminis terminantibus*, in plain and expreſs Terms, *Revel.* 1. 5. Jeſus Chriſt the faithful Witneſs, the firſt begotten of the dead is, *The Prince of the Kings of the Earth*. that again, *cap.* 11.27. *He ruleth them with a Rod of Iron*. That this is meant appliable at leaſt to Kings, ſee and read it. *Pſal.* 11. 9. *Revel.* 19. 12. On his head you have many Crowns, an Embleme of his Sovereignty over all Kings, and that all are his Deputies, his Subſtitutes. To what is ſaid, add that of St. *Paul.* 1 *Tim.* 6. 15. *He is the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. That *The* is κατ' ἐξοχὴν a note of Excellency. *Revel.* 17. 14. *The Lamb he is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings*; *Revel.* 19. 16. *And he hath on his veſture and on his Thigh a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. Obſerve the words attentively, How characteriſtically this Power is given *to the Lamb, to Jeſus, to the faithful Witneſs*; That it is *written on his Thigh on his Veſture*; which qualifie this Power as his Due, as he is the Head and Saviour of his Church. It is worth your notice taking, that *this name* is written *upon his Thigh*, that we may learn two things; the one is, That this Power is fixed in *Chriſt-man*; The other is, That all Kings are *De femore Chriſti*, from him by Generation.

Reaſon pleadeth for this Truth; 1. Firſt, what is more ſuitable and convenient, than that all Kings of all

all Ages, ſhould iſſue from him, who is *Rex ſæculorum*, A King whoſe Kingdom endureth throughout all Ages? It is the higheſt Dignity of Crowns to hold of this Crown.

2. Next, is it not propheſied by *Iſaiah*, that Kings ſhall be the Nurſe-fathers of his Church, *Reges erunt nutritii tui*? Is it not fit then that they hold their Crowns of Chriſt? Is it not fit, that Kings be taught ſo much, that with the more Alacrity and Zeal, they may advance the good of Chriſts Kingdom?

3. Thirdly, our Divines do acknowledge, that by men in ſacred Orders Chriſt doth rule his Church mediately, in thoſe things which primely concern Salvation; And that by Kings, their Scepter and Power, he doth protect and preſerve his Church, and what concerns the external Government in Order and Decency. How then can it be denied, that Kings in this latter Senſe, are no leſs the immediate Vicegerents of Chriſt, than Biſhops Prieſts, and Deacons, in the former? Look upon the Interpretations are given by the beſt and moſt able of our Divines upon 1 *Cor.* 15. 28.

4. Fourthly, what is the reaſon that all Chriſtian Emperours and Kings glory in the Sign of the Croſs, and place it upon the Top of their Sacred Crowns? It is not only by this *Symbolum Chriſtianiſmi* this ancient badge of Chriſtianity, to witneſs that they are Chriſtians, and not aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt, but alſo to acknowledge, that they have received and hold their Crowns of him. Much more might be ſaid to this purpoſe, but for brevities ſake, and judging what is ſaid to be ſufficient to prove all Kings to be Chriſt's Vicegerents, we ſpare with more Reaſons to tranſgreſs upon the Patience of the underſtanding Reader.

Some

Some have ſhunned to ſpeak thus, that *Kings are Chriſt's Vicegerents upon Earth*, fearing that becauſe of the Popes unjuſt Challenge to be *Chriſts univerſal Vicar upon Earth*, it ſhould uſher in a Subordination of the Crown to the Mitre. They ſcruple without juſt cauſe. What need we to be afraid to ſpeak with Scripture? It is high Preſumption in the Pope to challenge to himſelf the Title or Right of *Chriſts univerſal vicar upon Earth, by divine Right.* There is no colour almoſt or ſhew of Reaſon for it either in Scripture, or reverend Antiquity. The Pope, the Biſhop of *Rome*, hath no more by *Divine Right* (what he may have by poſitive Eccleſiaſtical Right, it is not pertinent for us now to examine and diſcuſs) no higher Priviledge (except it be in extent) than the meaneſt Biſhop in the World in his Dioceſs. Doth not St. *Hierom* ſay, *Omnis Epiſcopus ſive Romæ fuerit, ſive Eugubii, ſive Conſtantinopoli, ſive Rhegii, ſive Alexandriæ, ſive Tanis, ejuſdem eſt meriti, ejuſdem Sacerdotii.* The learned and holy Father compareth, with the three great Patriarchs (priviledged at that time by Eccleſiaſtical Canons above all others, with the Patriarchs of *Antioch*, and the Honorary Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*) three of the meaneſt Biſhops next adjacent to them, the Biſhops of *Eugubium*, *Rhegium*, and *Tanais*, and averreth that by divine Right they had ἴσα πρεσβεῖα equal Right, equal Power. Nor doth that hold better, that the Pope would make his tranſcendent and extravagant Juriſdiction over all, to be grounded upon a fancied Eminency in St. *Peter*, above his fellow Apoſtles, *ordinarie* in him, *extraordinarie* in them, *perſonal* and *temporarie* in them; but ſo fixed in *Peter*'s Perſon, that it is tranſmiſſible to his Succeſſor, and he forſooth, whether God will or not, muſt be the Pope of *Rome*. This Paradox is againſt

againſt Scripture, ſacred Antiquity, and ſound Reaſon. It is not fit now to prove it, only to ſatisfie the judicious Reader, I content my ſelf with the Suffrage of that Holy Father and Martyr S. *Cyprian*, who *de unit. Eccleſ.* or ſingular, Prelator ſaith; *Hoc utique erant cæteri Apoſtoli, quod erat Petrus, pari conſortio prædiți & honoris & poteſtatis.* He knew not theſe Differences theſe Novators have coyned and forged upon the Anvil of their own Hearts: His Judgment was, all the Apoſtles no leſs than *Peter*, were endowed in Order to their Apoſtolical Charge, with the ſame Endowment of Power, and Priviledges of Honour. Would God, both ſides in this and other Controverſies, would ſubmit to the Judgment and Determination of the holy Fathers!

I wave the accurate diſcuſſing of theſe points, they require more time, and a more fit place. To what is ſaid I add, that although we would give to the Pope of *Rome*, to be Chriſt's immediate univerſal Vicar *in ſpiritualibus*, in ſpiritual things, there is no Danger, and ſo tô ſhun this Inconvenience, we need not be ſo ſhie, as to forbear to call Kings *Chriſts Vicegerents*, *Chriſts Lieutenants*. For if we ſhould grant the Antecedent, the Pope is Chriſts univerſal Vicar upon Earth (which is certainly as falſe as Falſhood it ſelf) it is an ἀναχόλυθον a lame Conſequence, to make this inference, *Ergo* all Kings Crowns are ſubordinated and ſubjected to the Pope and his Mitre. Their own Authors, who advance his Power as high as *Lucifer*, do acknowledge that all power that was in Chriſt, *Secundum quod homo*, as he was man, was not collated upon St. *Peter*. They confeſs moreover, that all the Power that was in St. *Peter*, was not by him tranſmitted to his ſpurious and uſurping Succeſſor. They all with one Mouth pro-

profeſs, that *poteſtas Excellentiæ quæ in ſolo homine Chriſto fuit*, that Power of Excellency, which is ſolely peculiar to, and perſonal in Chriſt, was not communicated to St. *Peter*. They clear and prove it by ſpecification of inſtances: Saint *Peter*, ſay they, could not confer the Effect and Efficacy of the Sacrament without the Sacrament it ſelf; nor could he inſtitute Sacraments of himſelf, or in his own name, or others than Chriſt himſelf did inſtitute. Do they not all of them give and grant that Saint *Peter* did not tranſmit the Power of doing Miracles to all his Succeſſors? So then, although it were granted that the Pope were Chriſt's Vicar univerſal, it will not neceſſarily follow, that in this, that Chriſt is King of Kings, the Pope is his firſt immediate and univerſal Vicegerent.

I wiſh the Pope, who claimeth ſo near alliance and contingency to Chriſt, would learn of Chriſt to be *meek and humble in heart*, and ſo not onely ſhould he find reſt to his own Soul, but a great deal of more reſt and quiet ſhould be both in Church and State. It is very conſiderable, that in Scripture it is recorded, that whilſt our Saviour was *Miniſter Circumciſionis*, the Miniſter of Circumciſion, he both practiſed and taught that it was God's Ordinance, that the Mitre ſubmit to the Crown, and the Shepherd's Crook to the Scepter: *Scarce well come into the World*, when he taught this by his Practice, flying from *Herod*'s Perſecution to *Egypt*, who might have commanded Legions of Angels againſt him to deſtroy him (if it had not been that it was fitter he ſhould teach us true Obedience) as at his Word, they publiſhed his Birth to Shepherds, and ſung that glorious Anthem, *Gloria in Excelſis*. Some, it is probable, may judge this to be the Act and Fact rather of *Joſeph* and *Mary* than of Chriſt, and

that

that they out of their Fear and Weakneſs not able to do better, did flee *Herod* and his malicious intent. If any think ſo, let him conſider, that he hath not learned as yet that all Chriſt's Actions and Paſſions are full of Myſteries, and nothing acted or ſuffered by him, in which there was not an over-ruling wonderful Providence of God in Mercy and Wiſdom: and withal let him conſider, that all his Acts and Sufferings are our Inſtructions. But leaving this, Did he not in his Miniſtry teach and practiſe it? Teach it, when he commanded to render to *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſars*; when he convinced the *Jews*, who would gladly have ſhaken off *Cæſar*, and his Right, arguing that they were by God's Law bound to pay *Cæſar* Tribute, becauſe he was their King, and this he proved by their Coin, (which with all ſound knowing Politicians is *inter jura Majeſtatis*) which was printed with *Cæſar*'s Face and Superſcription. Again, in his Death, Did not our Saviour Chriſt acknowledge *Pilate*'s Power (that is the *Roman*, of which he was Deputy) to be from above? Did he not rebuke *Peter*, who with his Sword would have in a Defenſive way ſaved him from thoſe bloudy Perſecutors? Did he not tell him, *He that killeth by the Sword, ſhall periſh by the Sword?* that is, Peter, although thou think thou haſt a good cauſe, that thou wilt defend me, and by reſiſting open force, preſerve me thy Maſter, thy Saviour; deceive not thy ſelf, it is not lawful by Arms, in the beſt Cauſe, for my Cauſe, for my Life, to reſiſt Lawful Authority; if thou kill in my Defence, thou art worthy to ſuffer Death by the Sword, by him that beareth the Sword not in vain. When *Peter* over-reached himſelf in this diſtempered zeal, cut off *Malchus* his Ear, Chriſt, before that Offence ſhould have

have been done by any of his, in his company, for his Cauſe, will be at the pains to cure this wound miraculouſly. Would God, Pope and Papeling, Jeſuit and Sectary, Puritan and Presbyterian, would fix their hearts upon theſe Practices of Chriſt, by a ſingular Wiſdom of God ſo clearly and fully recorded, practiſed in Chriſt's Nativity, Childhood, practiſed and taught in his Miniſtry, practiſed and taught when he was a dying, when he was looking Death in the face, at which time the moſt ſinful man will neither diſſemble nor temporize. I doubt much if in any act of Chriſt, during his coming into the World, and his going home again to his Father, you can inſtance any to parallel this; to exceed it, ſure I am you cannot. And what, I pray you, can the Pope challenge more than to be *Miniſter Evangelii*, a Miniſter of the Goſpel, as our Lord was, *Circumciſionis*, of the Circumciſion? He ſhall never be accounted with me the true Vicar of Chriſt, who teacheth contrary to Chriſt, and practiſeth contrary to his Practices: Me thinketh he looketh more like, and hath nearer alliance with the man mentioned 2 *Theſ.* 2. *Who exalteth himſelf above every thing is called God.* It is very conſiderable likewiſe, that in the Apoſtolical Creed, which is ſo full, ſo brief, and nothing in it but what is neceſſary to be believed to Salvation, that I ſay in this ſhort Creed, *Pontius Pilate* (whoſe memory is accurſed) by the Spirit of God which ruled his Church in ſetting this down, is recorded. It is not for his Honour certainly, but for our good and edification, that there it is ſaid, *Chriſt ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*, that we may learn, if we expect Salvation by Faith in Chriſt, we muſt ſubmit to Authority, by obedience to what they command, if it be lawful; and ſubmitting humbly, and

ſuffering,

ſuffering, if Authority urge that which is unlawful, and againſt God. And that this we are bound to, although the Magiſtrate be as oppoſite to Chriſtianity as a Heathen, and the Cauſe for which we ſuffer be for Chriſt and his Church. We will never help Chriſt nor his Church by Arms againſt Authority, or Religion by Rebellion. If our Sectaries give us a new Creed, it will concern them near, with the expunging of Chriſts *deſcent to Hell*, and the *Communion of Saints*, to raze out this, *He ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*. If their Practices be ſo contradictory to Chriſt's, they cannot but *conſequutive*, by conſequence, be deſtructory of the Chriſtian Faith; where the Reward of thoſe are to be expected you know too well. It were better for you not only to expunge Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell, but to annihilate Hell it ſelf, which by a cloſe Committee you may reſolve upon, if your *omnipotent power* can be able to do it: I mean, your *fanſied coordinate power*, which you have of late erected againſt *Sovereignty* fixed in the Lord's Anointed, as in the Church you have erected Altar againſt Altar. God open your Eyes to ſee your monſtrous Sins and Errours, and to give to you and to us all true Repentance, that the fearful vengeance of God overtake us not, and in the World to come be forced by ſenſible, eternal, and horrible pains, to acknowledge the Truths which now we reject, although plainly in Scripture declared, in the moſt Authentick Apoſtolical Creed determined, and by the current and not interrupted ſuffrage of the Fathers, above ſeven hundred years believed. Lord have mercy upon us, and turn his Wrath and fearful Indignation from us. I dare not to expreſs what I fear, when I look upon theſe outrages committed againſt Sacred Truth; How God and his Word are abuſed, His San-

ctuary defiled, His Ordinances repealed, Miſchief framed by the Law, Sacred Perſons violated, and the Lords Anointed fearfully rebelled againſt. My reſolution is to diſſolve unto Tears and Prayers, and with my Maſter ſay daily, ſay hourly, *Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

The weakneſs of this Aſſertion, *that Kings are not Chriſt's Vicegerents*, we have as we hope ſufficiently proved: It is high time now to diſcover the wickedneſs of it. The purpoſe they have by this and the like Aſſertions, is to reſerve the managing of all Religious Affairs in their largeſt latitude to themſelves; vindicating it as peculiar and proper, *quarto modo*, to their Conventicles, Presbyteries, and Aſſemblies. This Sovereignty they make ſo Sovereign and Independent, that all Kings and Sovereigns whatſoever muſt ſubmit to it. This Sovereignty Eccleſiaſtical may reſtrain and conſtrain the King at pleaſure. It may repeal his Laws; correct his Statutes; reverſe his Judgments. It may eſtabliſh its own, urge Obedience, Cite, Convent, and Cenſure in caſe of Diſobedience: And if they be not of Power to execute what they decree, they may call for or command the help and aſſiſtance of the People, in whom is that underived Majeſty; and to this purpoſe may promiſe, covenant, ſwear to ſtand to the maintenance of their Fancies againſt all whatſoever, and to defend each another, *contra omnes mortales*, with their Goods, Lands, Fortunes, Honours, Lives, to admit no diviſive motion (which is real, and to be ſuch, if the Authority of this Church declare it ſuch) whatſoever, to ſuppreſs whatſoever is contrary to the good intended in this Covenant and aſſociation, if it be in their power; ſo that this Sovereign maketh every man *armatum magiſtratum*, to be armed

armed with Power, and the way left to himself, for ought we know it may be *Ravillac*'s way, or *Guido Faux*'s way.

Surely here is a Despotical Sovereignty, and more than ever was challenged by any, the *Turk* or King of *Spain* without *Europe*: This is to tyrannize over mens Souls, for no man must be suffered to live or enjoy any Freedom, or Life there, who dissenteth in the least point of their voluminous Creed from them; and if he assist not with his Monies, his Arms, his Hands, to the loss of his Life, *for his Religion*, he is either Prelatical or Papistical, and *for his affection to the State*, (a word incompatible with Monarchy, and of highest Treason) he is at best a *Malignant*. At pleasure of this Sovereignty every man must give the *Quota* this Sovereignty prescribeth, the Twentieth, the Tenth, the Fifth part, *&c.* must give loan of what moneys they have by them, or upon Bank, for the good Cause, upon security of the Publick Faith, (a *non ens*, which is like, if God prevent it not, to ruine the Reformed Orthodox Catholick Faith, and moral Faith and Truth amongst men for what other they please and ordain: What a vast Sovereignty is this? the extent of it is immense, for nothing shall be without the Sphere of this Power, which hath no motion but eccentrick; no Person without the verge of this Scepter. And good reason for all this, for *this is God and Christ's Institution; this Sovereignty is the individual companion of the Gospel, the holy discipline, the discipline of Christ, half the Kingdom of Christ, the undoubted Note of the Church, the eternal Counsel of God, it is the Scepter of the Son of God. You see the Effect of it, what a happy, what a glorious Reformation it hath brought with it, the like was never seen since the Apostles dayes: this*

Reformation will pull down Antichriſt from his Throne, the hearing of the beginning of it, how it enlarges it ſelf now to be ſworn too in England, *will make the Pope of* Rome *and his Cardinals knees ſmite one againſt another. Quid verba audiam cum facta non videam?* Judge of the Tree by its Fruits, as our Maſter hath taught us, and we will find all their good words, are, as Juriſts ſay, *Proteſtatio contraria facto*, ſolemn Proteſtations, liberal Promiſes (you know whoſe cuſtom this is) but ſlack Performances: Would to God that had been all: no, a world of miſchiefs have followed upon it, and it is to be feared, that what is paſt is but ἀρχὰς ὠδίνων, the beginnings of troubles. The moſt glorious Church amongſt the Reformed, the ſtaff and ſtrength of Reformed Religion is broken in ſhivers, where all things are lawful except to ſerve God; and all Sects, all Schiſms allowed, except the Orthodox Truth and Ordinances of God. This Reformation is written in Letters of Bloud, acted with the greateſt Cruelty, againſt not onely Innocent, but Deſerving men, with Calumnies, Rapine, Robbery, Cruelty, that Father, Mother, and young ones, if they have not been ſtarved with hunger and cold, have been expoſed to extreameſt indigency, contempt, and mockery. I dare to ſay, no Perſecution that ever was, can parallel this Perſecution, for Impiety, Injuſtice and Cruelty. What heart bleedeth not to ſee theſe Kingdoms, happy before, to the Envy of other Kingdoms and States, to be the mocking-ſtock of the World; that the *Canaanite* and *Perizzite* rejoyceth to look upon our Miſery, to ſee the Deſolation ſtanding in the Holy place, and thoſe Kingdoms, of late the deſire of all the Earth, turned into an *Akeldama*; and no other fruit of this glorious Reformation, but to kill Chriſtians for Chriſt's ſake,

and to plunder for Religions ſake? Lord forgive them, for Chriſt's ſake, and remove our Sins, and thoſe fearful Judgments: and I beg pardon of the Reader for this Digreſſion or Regret, which I have poured out with a ſad heart, and wiſh them no worſe than ſpeedy Repentance.

For all we have ſaid of this Antichriſtian Sovereignty, whereby the *Puritan* and Factious would exalt the Presbytery and Repreſentative Body above all that is called God; Let no man imagine that we ran to the other Extreme, to privilege a King from the direction and juſt Power of the Church; or that we would encourage him, or ſet him on, like *Uzziah*, to intrude upon Sacred actions, proper to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons; *Ex vi ordinis*, *In direction by the Word*, *adminiſtration of the Sacraments*: *binding and looſing*, *in interiori foro conſcientiæ*, or, *in exteriori*, by the Spiritual Cenſures annexed to the Keys. Sure I am, no pious or knowing King (as bleſſed be God our Sovereign is) will by right of his Crown, which he holdeth immediately of Chriſt, uſurp upon this; but on the contrary, as a *Son of the Church*, will ſubmit to the Church his Mother, or rather Chriſt in Church-men reconciling him to God. Elſewhere (by Gods Grace, if God give us Life and Leiſure) in a ſeveral Treatiſe by it ſelf, we intend to lay open this point. In ſum, briefly we ſay, that men in Sacred Orders, *In rebus purè ſpiritualibus*, in things meerly and intrinſecally of themſelves Spiritual, have from Chriſt immediately a *directive* and *authoritative Power*, in order to all whatſoever, although *miniſterial onely*, as related to Chriſt: But this giveth them no *Coercive Civil Power over a Prince*, either *per ſe*, or *per accidens*, either *primarie* or *ſecundarie*; either *principaliter* or *conſecutive*, *directe*

or *indirectè*, *ſimple* or *abſolute*, that either the one way or the other, directly or indirectly, abſolutely or reſpectively by it ſelf, or in *ordine ad ſpiritualia*, any or many in ſacred orders, Pope or Presbytery, can convent, cite, cenſure, in caſe of Defailance, Supply, and in caſe of not obeying what God in Scripture hath commanded, to covenant, aſſociate, ſwear, and take Sacrament upon it, to reſiſt him, oppoſe him, and force him to ſubmit to the Scepter of Chriſt. This Power over man God Almighty uſeth not, much leſs hath he given it to man: *Pſal.* 110. *His People are a willing People. Suadenda non cogenda religio, nihil minùs Religionis quàm Religionem cogere.* Nor doth that ſpiritual Power which entirely we give to Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, rob the King, as he is the nurſing Father of the Church, of the power Chriſt hath endowed him with, as a Chriſtian King, *in externa gubernatione Eccleſiæ.* We muſt not look on Kings as on others of the Flock of Chriſt, although we may neither preach, nor adminiſter the Sacraments, nor bind, nor looſe, nor give ſacred Orders, nor excommunicate, theſe are things only proper to Prieſts, *Primi & ſecundi ordinis*, of the firſt and ſecond Order and Degree: Yet the exerciſe of theſe things freely within his Kingdom, what concerneth the decent and orderly doing of all, and what concerns *externum hominem*, by coactive Power, or *externam gubernationem Eccleſiæ*, the external Government of the Church, in appointing the uſe of things, arbitrary and indifferent, and what elſe is of this ſtrain, are ſo due to the Prerogative of the Crown, as that we muſt not rob him of it; nor may the Prieſt without higheſt Rebellion againſt God intrench or uſurp upon the King. A King in the State and Church is a mixed Perſon, not ſimply Civil, but

Sacred

Sacred too: They are not only *Profeſſores fidei*, Profeſſors of the Truth, that they have *in the Capacity of a Chriſtian*: but they are alſo *Propugnatores fidei*, Defenders of the Faith; which is proper to them *in the Capacity of a King*. What is the meaning of that, that in Scripture they are honoured with more than the Stile of a Son of the Church; they are called by *Iſaiah*, or rather God himſelf, *The Nurſe-fathers of the Church?* This is not to be ſo ſcantled, as if there were no more Influence from Kings upon the Church, but by Honour and Riches; other great men may and have done the like; it is meant by ſome Influence from their Crown, their Sword, their Scepter. What meaneth that Charge, *Pſal.* 2. 10, 11, 12. *Be wiſe, O ye Kings, ſerve the Lord with Fear, kiſs the Son leſt he be angry, and ye periſh from the way; When his Wrath is kindled but a little?* I will believe Saint *Auſtin* more than all the glorious pretended Reformers of this happy Reformation, or Deformation rather, writing to *Boniface*. *Quomodo enim* (ſaith he) *Reges Domino ſerviunt, niſi ea quæ contra juſſa Domini fiunt religioſâ ſeveritate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter n. ſervit* quà homo eſt, *aliter* quà etiam Rex eſt. *Quia homo eſt, ei ſervit fideliter vivendo: quia vero etiam Rex eſt ſervit leges juſta præcipientes, & contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore ſanciendo. Sicut ſervivit Ezechias, Lucos, & templa idolorum, & excelſa quæ contra præcepta Dei fuerunt conſtructa deſtruendo. Sicut ſervivit Joſias talia & ipſe faciendo. Sicut ſervivit Rex Niniviturum univerſam civitatem ad placandum Dominum compellando. Sicut ſervivit Darius, idolum frangendum in poteſtatem Danieli dando, & inimicos ejus Leonibus inferendo. Sicut ſervivit Nebuchadnezzar, de quo jam diximus omnes in regno ſuo poſitos à Blaſphemando Deo legi terribili prohibendo. In hoc ergo*

ſerviunt Domino Reges in quantum Reges, cum ea faciunt ad ſerviendum illi quæ non poſſunt facere niſi Reges. The Paſſage is plain, and hath more for the Right of Kings than *Jeſuit* or *Puritan* will allow them; who will have them to be *Miniſtri* and *Executores*, their Servants to put in Execution what they ordain and command.

To make *Pope* or *Presbytery*, as the immediate Vicegerents of Chriſt, and to authorize them with a *coactive*, or a *coercive Power*, to confirm their Orders, to force him to repeal his own Laws, and in caſe of Defailance or Refuſal, after Remonſtrance is made, or Supplication as they call it, although poſſibly preſented on the point of a Sword or Pike, to ſtir up people againſt the *Lords anointed*, to Sedition, to Rebellion, howſoever they deceive the ſimpler ſort, to make them believe they dye Martyrs, is truly the Diſgrace of Religion, the higheſt of Treaſons againſt God and man, and to make poor People die Traytors to both.

If you make *two Sovereigns* in one Kingdom, *independent one from another*, there is no more Peace or Quiet to be expected, than was in *Rebecca*'s Womb, whilſt *Jacob* and *Eſau* did ſtrive for the Prerogative of the firſt born.

Nay, if you make the *Sovereign and Supreme managing of Religion* and religious Affairs to depend upon, and properly belong either to *any foreign power* without the Kingdom, as to the *Pope*; or to *any Power domeſtick* within it, as to the *Presbytery* or *Aſſembly*, you commit and entruſt to their managing *the greateſt and higheſt Affairs of Kingdom and State*: and if you take from the King the *Regiment in Religion*, you take from him that, which in its own nature is the maineſt, the chiefeſt,

chiefeſt, and moſt excellent thing in Government, as may appear by what is ſubjoyned.

Religion is *the Baſe and Bottom*, on which all the Steadineſs and Happineſs of King and Kingdom are ſeated. *Religio & Timor Dei ſolus eſt, qui cuſtodit hominum inter ſe ſocietatem*: It is Religion and the Fear of God alone, which preſerveth all Society, and conſequently King and Kingdom: *Lactant. de Ira Dei*, c. 12. Religion is the Baſe, and it is the Cement too of all other Societies; beſides this, *Plutarch* ſaith, that Religion is συνέχτικον ἁπάσης κοινωνίας καὶ νομοθεσίας, that which bindeth all Societies together, and giveth Strength to all Laws, Religion, it hath a *mighty Influence upon Laws*, it worketh hearty, ſincere, and compleat Obedience. Religion rightly ordered *maketh the Prince rule well*, and people yield true, real, and perfect Obedience: This made *Ariſtotle* ſay, *Polit. l.* 7. c. 8. πρῶτον μὲν περὶ θεῶν ἐπιμέλεια. The firſt care in Policy ſhould be that of Religion and things divine. Religion rightly ordered, *is the Preſerver, Nurſe, and Defence of the Quiet of King and State.* I ſay Religion rightly order'd, for Superſtition is a mad and madding thing: *Seneca ep.* 24. *Superſtitio error inſanus eſt. Triſmegiſtus* ſaith, *apud Lactant. Inſtitut. lib.* 11. *c.* 16. μία φυλακὴ εὐσέβεια, Piety and the fear of God is the ſafeſt and only Defence of all things. Religion in Sum is the only thing to make private and publick Affairs to proſper. Which thing being infallibly true, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that Religion is the moſt important of all Affairs of State and Kingdom. How can it then ſubſiſt and conſiſt with Reaſon that the King ſhall have no more hand or Power in Religion, than to execute at the Command of *Pope* or *Presbytery*? To do it or do worſe?

Chriſt

Chriſt did never inſtitute ſuch a Sovereignty in Eccleſiaſtical perſons, either *Pope* or *Sectaries*, Independent from King and Sovereign, with which they are inveſted with Power from Chriſt, from above immediately. If it were ſo, the *Pope* or *Presbytery* were in better Condition than the *King*. The Eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty hath the Souls in ſubjection, under no leſs Sanction, than with Aſſurance of Salvation eternal, in caſe of Obedience, and Damnation eternal, in caſe of Diſobedience, and both of them to be extended both to Soul and Body. Religion is ſeated in the Soul, and is a mighty Ruler there: the civil Sovereignty holdeth only a dead Dominion over the Bodies. That Sovereignty which hath the Soul in Subjection, the Conſcience at his Devotion, muſt over-rule Royal Civil Sovereignty, and ſhall be able at any time ſo to limit, weaken, leſſen, yea diſable it, that it ſhall be no more fearful abroad, nor glorious and powerful at home with it's Subjects than the ſpiritual Sovereignty ſhall permit. It is moſt true and conſonant to our purpoſe, that *Cicero* ſaith, *Orat. in Verr.* 5. *Omnes Religione moventur*, men are naturally ſwayed that way Religion hangeth; we may ſee it in the furious Superſtition of thoſe Diſtempers. Is it not verified this day in our eyes, that a multitude *vana Religione capta, melius vatibus quam ducibus paret ſuis*, miſled with an erroneous Religion, will obey and follow mad Prieſts ſooner than their lawful and religious Prince: they will part with what is deareſt to them, to advance their Deſigns, their Deſires; they will throw away their Ear-rings to caſt their molten Calves; they will not ſpare to ſacrifice their Children with the King of *Edom*, or to cut themſelves with Knives like to the Prieſts of *Baal*. People thus madded, and ſet on edge by mad Secta-

Sectaries and *Sheba's*, *Circumcellion*-like will act all Miſchief, ſpare neither Crown nor Mitre, Ephod nor Diadem, things ſacred or civil; fancying ſtrongly with themſelves that they fight the Lord's Battels, for Religion, for Liberty, and dying in Rebellion as men raging in a Feaver to dream they die Martyrs, when they die Traytors to God and to his anointed.

Diodorus Sicul. lib. 6. cap. 10. relateth a Story very appoſite to this Purpoſe, that the Prieſts of *Jupiter* in the Iſland *Meroe* compaſſed with the River *Nilus*, by this Sovereignty kept the People of *Æthiopia* in ſo ſuperſtitious Obedience, ſo abſolute and blind Dependance upon them, that at Pleaſure, they commanded the killing of the King by their own Subjects, none of them daring to deny or delay to put in Execution what the Prieſts commanded: this continued long, till *Ergamenes* a wiſe King of *Æthiopia*, ſenſible of this damnable and impious extravagant Sovereignty, waiting his Opportunity, ſecretly ſurprized them all, Prieſts and Profeſſion. We need not refer you to the *German* Writers, and *Italian*, that you may ſee what Miſchiefs the Popes unjuſt Challenge of Sovereignty above Emperours, hath wrought in the World, nor to *Joſeph. lib.* 2. *de bell. Jud. ca.* 12. or to *Florus* his Slave, *Ennus* by name, who pretending an immediate Dependency from God wrought ſo much Diſturbance to *Rome* in power, *Flor. lib.* 3. *cap.* 16. Nor need I refer you to the *Turkiſh* Annals to learn, what miſchief upon this ground *Shacoen Lu* wrought: or to *Leo* to read what miſchief *Elmabel* with the people of *Morocco*, wrought againſt *Abraham* their native King. See *Leo lib.* 2. and if you will *lib.* 3. where you have the Story, how upon this ground *Chenim Mamal* made the King of *Feſs* to quit to him the Kingdom of *Tunoſina*: Heatheniſh, Turkiſh, Jewiſh, Chriſtian ſtories witneſs that

that where a Sovereignty religious, independent is erected within a Kingdom, or without it, the temporal and civil muſt ſubmit. We need not, I ſay, refer you to theſe Stories, Jewiſh, Ethniſh or Turkiſh, we may ſee the doleful Effects, this Tenet with it's practice hath brought upon theſe Kingdoms. The Calamities which the Authors and Abettors of theſe Paradoxes have brought upon us, and the preſent Diſtemper and Diſtreſs we are caſt into, if they ſurpaſs not, certainly in their due Proportion, are equal to thoſe we have recorded in authentick Story, were ſet on Foot betwixt *Gregory* the ſeventh, and *Henry* the fourth; betwixt *Innocent* the fourth, and *Frederick*; betwixt *Boniface* the eighth, and *Philip* King of *France*. The Puritan and Presbytery by their independent Eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty will act as much Miſchief e're it be long, if God in mercy ſtop not the Current of their Fury and Malice; as in many Ages paſt, the Pope of *Rome* hath done by his unjuſt and uſurped Tyranny over and above Kings. It feareth me, the Tragedies of *Munſter* and this time ſhall never be forgotten.

Let the Chriſtian Reader, whoſe Affection is right, and whoſe judgment is not perverted, judge how happy was our caſe when Gods Ordinance had place; had Power, Prince and Prieſt had their ſacred due right, what Plenty, Peace, what Happineſs King and Kingdoms did enjoy and rejoyce in. And on the other part, let him reflect his Thoughts, and conſider how ſince this Sovereignty Eccleſiaſtical hath been elſewhere erected, maintained; how here a Sovereignty civil, co-ordinate, collateral to royal Sovereignty is ſet up. And withal let the judicious Reader ſee how both the one and the other do concur to the Deſtruction of Epiſco-

Episcopacy, to the lessening certainly, if not the total overthrowing of Monarchy; but differ extreamly in this Sovereignty Ecclesiastical, for in one Kingdom the Presbytery, the Assembly is so Sovereign, so independent in Ecclesiastical and spiritual things, that it giveth Laws, Orders to the Sovereign Prince and Parliament, and demandeth as due a βεβαίωσις a Confirmation of them, civil Sanction, and Execution upon Refractories and Delinquents. In the other, the co-ordinate Power erected, over-ruleth, controuleth, and at Pleasure directeth what they in their infallible Judgment and answerable Jurisdiction, judge Orthodox in Faith, right for the Worship, and orderly for Canons of Government.

The last medleth *in spiritualibus*, in things meerly spiritual and ecclesiastical, *in ordine ad civilia*, in order to the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdoms. The other hath so enlarged its Jurisdiction and Sovereignty ecclesiastical, that it trencheth upon and medleth with things meerly civil, but *in ordine ad spiritualia* as related to Religion and the Church. Both the one and the other are of equal Extent, for this *in ordine ad civilia*, on the one part, and *in ordine ad spiritualia* on the other, are such relative and respective Terms and Distinctions as can admit, and authorise Church-men to do, act, and meddle in matters of State of highest Concernment; and Lay-men again, to do the like in things most spiritual, and by divine Right, reserved for men in sacred Orders. So long as such Tenets are maintained, & with Practices accordingly strengthened, we cannot expect God's Blessing on Church or State. To both the one and the other God may justly say, *Quis hæc requisivit à vobis?* Who hath required these things of your hands? and where God's Ordinance is not, and his own Ordinance is infringed, that men intrude upon that is not

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their Right, or uſurp upon ſacred Right, his Bleſſing is not to be expected. Again, we aver confidently, till this *Babel* be beat down, there will never be peace nor Quiet in Church or Kingdom, nor ſhall private men enjoy the Fruits of their Labburs in Peace.

If this co-ordinate, uſurped, and new-fancied Sovereignty uſurp ſo much upon God and the Churches Right, we ſhall become a mocking ſtock to the *Roman* Church: If the other independent, eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty obtain, it is not to be doubted but that Immunity Eccleſiaſtical of ſacred Perſons and their Goods ſhall not only be eſtabliſhed, but alſo raiſed to a higher Strain and Pitch than *Romaniſts* do claim it. This I ſay cannot but undoubtedly follow upon their Principles and Practices, if there were not ſome hope, that thoſe Creatures whom God never made, and Chriſt never inſtituted, *Lay Elders* I mean, oppoſe not and retard the Courſe, *who are inveſted with ſacred power, to determine Truth in Controverſies and Myſteries of higheſt Concernment in Councels; to eſtabliſh Canons; to preſcribe a Form of Worſhip, a Catechiſm; to have the power of the Keys in all cenſures Eccleſiaſtical:* in ſum, in all things Eccleſiaſtical to have no leſs power, no leſs a Voice not only *deliberative* but *deciſive*, than Prieſts or Miniſters as they are pleaſed to call them; theſe *Lay Elders* are debarred from nothing, but only *publick Preaching*, and *Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*, Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt; it is expected if the *independent Miniſtery*, another Head of this *Hydra* become the prevalent part, they will juſtle the Presbyterian out of this, and reſtore all the *Laity*, who in their Divinity are no leſs the *Lords anointed than Prince, Prieſt, or Prophet.* There is ſome hope, I ſay that theſe Lay Elders, a *non ens* in Scripture, and never known to Antiquity, will curb them, that they ſhall not have way for ſuch

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a vaſt Immunity, finding already by ſad and feeling Experience what a meaſure of Patience is required to bear their Inſolency, and what Prudence is neceſſary to diſappoint their ambitious and pragmatical ends.

There is enough ſaid to lay open the weakneſs and wickedneſs of this *Antichriſtian tenet, that Kings are God's, but not Chriſt's Vicegerents.* They cry out much againſt the Pope, to whom they do better ſervice than they are aware of, (I pray God they were as real and true Enemies to Popery, as moderate and Orthodox Proteſtants are, whom the Pope feareth more than them, and with juſt reaſon) and ſeeing I have not much hope that what is ſaid will work much upon them, let me tell them that in their Tenet and Practice they are worſe than the good Popes were, and I dare ſay, all to *Gregory the Great* (hear it from his mouth, and ſtartle not at it, he was a better Chriſtian than any of your Sect or Sectaries) thus he writeth, *Lib.* 3. *Epiſt.* 61. to *Maurice* the Emperour, *Dominus meus fuiſti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: Ecce pro me reſpondebit Chriſtus, dicens, Ego te de notario comitem excubitorum; de comite Cæſarem; de Cæſare Imperatorem feci. Sacerdotes meos manui tuæ commiſi, & tu à ſervitio meo milites tuos ſubſtrahis: Ego quidem juſſioni veſtræ ſubjectus legem veſtram per diverſas terrarum partes tranſmitti feci. Et quia lex ipſa omnipotenti Deo minimè concordat; ecce per ſuggeſtionis meæ paginam Sereniſſimis Dominis nuntiavi; utrobique ergo quæ debui exolvi, qui & Imperatori obedientiam præbui, & pro Deo quod ſenſi minimè tacui.* And in another Epiſtle written to *Theodor. Epiſt.* 64. He ſaith, *Valdè mihi durum videtur, ut ab ejus ſervitio milites ſuos ſubſtrahat, qui & ei omnia tribuit, & dominari non ſolum militibus, ſed etiam ſacerdotibus conceſſit.* *Maurice* was no bad Emperour,

perour, and *Gregory* certainly was a good Bishop; yet *Maurice* had commanded that none serving in his Wars, or any Officer whatsoever accountant unto him, should be admitted either to Sacred Orders, or a Religious Monastical Life, without his special Warrant. Reason may plead for the equity of this charge, because by the Bounty and Beneficence of Christian Emperours, men in sacred Orders, and Religious Persons, had admirable Priviledges, which might make his Armies weak by flying to sacred Orders and Religious Life, and exempt Accountants from doing what was due in civil Justice, *ex Indulto Imperatorum*, not *ex jure Divino*, by the gratuite concession of Princes, and no direct Warrant from God or his Word. Whatever this was in it self which *Maurice* commanded *Gregory* to keep, and to intimate to all his Suffragan Bishops, and to be published in all Churches within the verge of his Jurisdiction; certain it is, in St. *Gregory*'s judgment it was unlawful and sinful, for he saith, *Lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minimè concordat*: and again, *Valdè durum mihi videtur*; yet what did he? He made this Ordinance of the Emperour's to be published throughout all his Churches; here is Obedience: and although it did belong properly and peculiarly to him as Bishop, to admit any qualified by God Almighty to sacred Orders; He submits to the restraining Ordinance of Sovereign Authority, and I am confident did not transgress. He pleadeth for no immunity to any sacred Person in sacred Orders; nay, he bringeth in Christ himself, saying, *Sacerdotes meos manui tuæ commisi*; I have committed to thy trust, to thy power, my Priests: and in this case which is Spiritual enough, and necessary enough for ought I can conceive, at least that part of it, of admitting of able

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men to ſacred Orders, he humbly obeys; he pleads not that he was *Chriſt's* Vicegerent, and *Maurice* only *God's*; he objects not *Uzzia's* attempt to ſacrifice; he confeſſeth, or rather bringeth in Chriſt, ſpeaking thus, He calls him not onely *His Lord*, but *Dominus omnium*, the Lord of all, without reſtraint; he averreth that not onely he had by God *Dominion over Souldiers*, but *over all ſacred Perſons in ſacred Functions*: *Ei omnia tribuit, & dominari non ſolùm militibus ſed etiam ſacerdotibus conceſſit.* He knew no remedy elſe but *per ſuggeſtionis paginam*, by humble ſupplication, ſubmiſs admonition, to tell the Emperour it was not right; he profeſſed *his obedience*, and that not by *compulſion*, an extorted, a coacted one, *Quod debui exolvi, Imperatori obedientiam præbui*; as he was bound, he obeyed; and for his humble Remonſtrance, he ſpeaketh no leſs rightly than modeſtly, *Et pro Deo quod ſenſi minimè tacui*: He knew no more lay upon him than in humility and ſubmiſs freedom with Reverence to tell and admoniſh what he thought fit. The poor man knew not that as Chriſt's Vicegerent, in Chriſt's Kingdom, he was to oppoſe, to ſupplicate, petition, and if there were not a recalling, a repealing of the Imperial Edict, that they might excite the People to covenant, ſwear, and at laſt to preſent a Petition upon the point of a Pike, by right as he was Chriſt's Vicegerent. This holy man knew not this Divinity, it was never heard of in his age, nor any ſince the World began, it ſprang not up till many Ages after, that that malicious one did ſow Popple among the good Wheat of Chriſt's Field; for a thouſand years after Chriſt, the independent Sovereignty Eccleſiaſtical of the Pope was never known in the Chriſtian Church. The Presbyterian Sovereignty not 'till fifteen hundred and above were

run out. The Parochian Pope, or independent Sovereign in every Parish, Christ's Vicegerent, except Almighty God right in mercy what is disjoynted in Church and State, is like to put the Presbyterian and Pope out of doors.

I may add a world of Testimonies of the Fathers, who expresly call *Kings Christs Vicegerents upon Earth*. *Athanasius* in the Sermon of the Blessed Virgin (explaining that of the Psalm, *Et regnabit in domo Jacob, in æternum, & regni ejus non erit finis*: And he shall reign in the House of *Jacob* for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no end) saith, ὁ λαβὼν ὁ χριστὸς τὸν θρόνον μετέστησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις χριστιανῶν βασιλεῦσιν, ἐπανασῴζει τύπῳ ὅτι τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ. Christ therefore receiving the Throne of *David*, hath translated it, and hath given it to the Sacred Kings of Christians. In St. *Athanasius* his mind Christian Kings are Christ's Vicegerents, and sit Deputies upon his Throne.

Take the Suffrage of many together, all the Fathers of the Councel of *Arminium*, writing to *Constantius*, δι' ὃ (which *Relative* ὃ referreth to the *Antecedent Jesus Christ*) σοι καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν οὕτως ὑπῆξεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης κρατεῖν. The sense is, By Christ thou reignest, and hast dominion over all the World.

Liberius speaketh thus to *Constantius* the Emperour, τοῦτο δέ σοι συμβουλεύομεν, μὴ μάχου πρὸς τὸ δεδωκέναι σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, μὴ ἀντ' εὐχαριστίας ἀσεβήσῃς εἰς αὐτόν. All know that *Constantius* was an *Arrian*, a great Persecutor of the Orthodox who maintained the Deity of Christ. *Liberius* writing

ting to him, admoniſheth him not to fight againſt Chriſt, who had given him the Empire, nor to be ſo unthankful unto him, as to be impious againſt him.

Seeing then that Scripture, Antiquity, and Reaſon ſtand for this Truth, that Kings are Chriſt's Vicegerents upon Earth, let us not be deceived with the no leſs fond, than new deviſed diſtinction of our Novators and Sectaries, who by differencing betwixt *God's Vicegerents upon Earth, and Chriſt's Vicegerents upon Earth*, intend nothing elſe but to throw down Crowns and Royal Diadems, and lay them at the foot of Preſbytery and Aſſembly, and to ſet up a *Tribunal* of their *own*, a *Sovereignty Eccleſiaſtical* to domineer over all Powers elſe whatſoever. I wiſh they would here remember that paſſage which otherwiſe and in another caſe they pervert and abuſe ſufficiently, *Matth.* 20. 25, 26. *Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them, and they that are Great exerciſe Authority upon them; but it ſhall not be ſo among you.* Or that of St. *Bernard* to *Eugenius the Pope, Indicitur miniſterium, interdicitur miniſterium.* Let any who will duly conſider what enormous, extravagant Sovereignty hath been acted by the Presbytery, how much the intrinſecal right of Sovereignty hath been reſtrained and leſſened, and it ſeareth me, you will hardly find ſo much acted by all the Popes ſince *Hildebrand*'s time, as by them in this ſhort ſpace. I leave this, and come in the next place to prove by the Teſtimony of Fathers, that Kings are not the Derivatives of the People.

CHAP. VI.

That the King is ſolely dependent from God and Chriſt, and independent from all others, is proved by the ſuffrages of the Holy Fathers.

THE Holy Fathers and Martyrs in the *prior* and purer Age of the Church knew no other Doctrine; they ſpake no other Language.

We begin with *Clemens Romanus*, *Conſtit. l.* 7. *c.* 17. τὸν Βασιλέα φοβεῖσθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῷ κυρίῳ ἔστιν χειροτονία· *Fear or honour the King, knowing that He is ordained or conſtituted by the Lord.* It may be it will be told us, this is a ſpurious *Clemens*, and not the genuine that was Biſhop of *Rome*; and if we alledge *Ignatius*, it is to be feared he'll fare no better, for a great Scholar but no great Divine hath very now rejected all we have of him. I will therefore give ſome Teſtimonies from ſuch againſt whom this exception lyeth not.

See *Irenæus*, lib. 5. *adverſ. hæreſ.* c. 20. where at large he proveth, That Kingdoms are not of the Devil, but that all Kings *relate to God as to their firſt and immediate Origine, Donor, Author*; adduceth ſome of the pregnant Teſtimonies of Scripture which we have alledged before, giveth the Devil a Lye, who durſt to challenge to himſelf the right to diſpoſe of all Kingdoms, *Luke* 4. 6. Our new Anti-monarchical Statiſts had need to conſider this, and whoſe Children they make the People, to whom they gave the Right and Power

Power to diſpoſe of Kings and Kingdoms at pleaſure. S. *Irenæus* is ſo zealous, ſo fervent of God and the King's Right and Prerogative, that he will not admit the good and Heavenly Angels to this Honour; nor will he admit that Saint *Paul's* ἐξουσίαι ὑπερέχουσαι, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2. Higher Powers, are Angelical, but that the Apoſtle meant it *de his* (a clear and full commentary to St. *Peter's* ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, 1 *Ep.* 2. 14.) *quæ ſecundum homines ſunt poteſtates*, of Humane and Royal Sovereignty. To this add, that the Father in the place alledged, armeth Kings with entire Sovereignty, and that neceſſarily to reſtrain the corruption of man: where he alſo expreſſeth the infinite good cometh to mankind by Government; and *leaveth Sovereigns delinquents to the Judgment and Tribunal of God.* All theſe Points you will find by the Father, where, amongſt other things to our purpoſe, he ſaith moſt appoſitely and pregnantly, *Cujus enim juſſu naſcuntur homines; hujus juſſu & Reges conſtituuntur, apti his qui in illo tempore ab ipſis regnantur. Quidam enim illorum ad correctionem & utilitatem ſubjectorum dantur, & conſervationem Juſtitiæ: Quidam autem ad timorem, pœnam & increpationem; quidam autem ad illuſionem & contumeliam, & ſuperbiam, quemadmodum & digni ſunt Dei juſto judicio*, &c. This place is *certa ſedes dogmatis & ſententiæ Patris*, a proper place from which we may draw warrantably the Fathers Tenet, concerning the Author and Donor of Sovereignty. Here the Holy Father is proving, *That the Devil is not the Author of Kings and Sovereign Power*, He referreth all to God the immediate Author and Origine of Royalty. If the Church of Chriſt at this time, and he with it, had believed with our Μοναρχομάχοι, oppoſers of Monarchy, That all Power was radically, primarily, and

independently inherent in People, and from them derived to Kings, this was a fit place to expreſs it; and we ſee he knew no more, but *Cujus juſſu naſcuntur homines, hujus juſſu & reges conſtituuntur, &c.* and it is worthy of our notice taking, that God maketh and ſendeth Kings, as in his wiſe Providence he thinketh for the Puniſhment of our Sins, or in his Mercy and Bounty to bleſs us when we walk in his ways.

Tertullian ſpeaketh in the ſame Idiome, writing *ad Scapulam*, he ſaith, *Chriſtianus nullius eſt hoſtis, nedum Imperatoris: quem ſcient à Deo conſtitui, neceſſe eſt ut & ipſum diligat, reveretur & honoret, & ſalvum velit cum tota imperio, quouſque ſeculum ſtabit tandiu etiam ſtabit. Colimus ergo Imperatorem ſic quomodo & nobis licet & ipſi expedit, ut hominem à Deo ſecundum, & quicquid eſt à Deo conſtitutum, ſolo Deo minorem. Hoc & ipſe volet, ſic enim omnibus major eſt dum ſolo vero Deo minor eſt.* The ſenſe of it is, *A Chriſtian is Enemy to none, much leſs to King and Emperour, whom he knoweth to be of Gods Conſtitution, and ſo is neceſſarily bound to love, reverence, and honour him, to whom with his Empire he wiſheth all Safety: for when that periſheth, it is like the World will be at an end: We honour the Emperour therefore ſo much as we are allowed by Gods Law, and as much as is expedient for him, as the man who is next to God himſelf:* (*Tertullian* had not learned in thoſe times that the Emperour or King was *Univerſis minor*) and whatſoever he was *reduplicative*, by Reduplication as Emperour, He was ſuch a one by *Gods Donation and Collation*, and was and is inferiour to none, to any, or many, but to God alone. This Divinity of the ancient Church is point blank oppoſite to the Divinity of theſe latter times.

Turn to him again in his *Apologetick* againſt the Gentiles, *cap.* 30. where he ſaith, *Nos enim pro ſalute æterna Deum vocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum; quam & ipſi Imperatores propitium ſibi propter cæteros mallent. Sciunt quis illis dederit Imperium; Sciunt qui homines, qui & animas: Sentiunt enim Deum eſſe ſolum, in cujus ſolius ſunt poteſtate, à quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi ante omnes.---Inde eſt Imperator, unde & homo antequam Imperator, inde poteſtas illi, unde & Spiritus.* What can be more *emphatically* ſpoken? God, in *Tertullians* Divinity, is no leſs immediate Author and Creator of Sovereignty, than of the Soul of man. In Preeminence they are next to God, above all; their Authority ſubordinate too, co-ordinate with none. *Rex qua Rex reduplicativè*, a King as King eſſentially hath no Conſtituent but only the King of Heaven. Kings are ſolely and entirely reſerved to the Judgment, to the Tribunal of Almighty God. It feareth me, if *Tertullian* were living now a-days, he would be traduced as a Court-paraſite.

Optatus Biſhop of *Milevis* was of the ſame Faith. He writeth *lib.* 3. *contr. Parmen. Super Imperatorem noſt. eſt niſi ſolus Deus qui fert Imperatorem: Quot verba, tot argumenta*; a ſhort, a moſt powerful Expreſſion. There is none above the Emperour, the King, but God alone; not any, not many; not the diffuſive, the collective, the Repreſentative, the virtual Body; the reaſon is in natural reaſon ſtrong, Almighty God only hath made him Emperour, made him King.

Athanaſius his Suffrage and Teſtimony you have before, *cap.* 5. and with him you have *Hoſius in epiſt. ad Solit. vit. agent.* writing and averring conſtantly, confidently, to *Conſtantius* an *Arrian* Emperour, ὅτι βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισεν; God hath given to thee the

Kingdom, the Sovereignty. If you will have *Athanasius* alone, take his Testimony from his own Mouth, in his Apology to *Constantius*; ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι δεδωκότι; But thanks to the Lord who gave to thee the Empire.

Saint *Chrysostom* lived and died in the same Faith. You may read him *Tom. 6.* according to Sir *Henry Savil's* Edition, *Orat.* 40. *Orat.* 2. to the People of *Antioch*: There at that time he was *Presbyter*, when by a tumultuary uproar the Statues of *Theodosius* were broke, and reproachfully-abused. The holy man after a most passionate and plentiful Regret, expresseth the Riot thus; μεγα τραύμα πάσης ἰατρείας μεῖζον, that it was a wound so open that no hand could cure it. Then exhorteth all with *Job* to sit upon the dung-hill, to mourn that they were left to themselves to fall into so high a Transgression: O! what Expressions? what Exclamations? what Regrets had been by that holy Father, if he had seen what we see to day, and heard what we hear! He subjoyneth οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ὑβριθεὶς ὁμότιμον τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Βασιλεὺς Κεφαλὴ καὶ κορυφὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἁπάντων. *He the Emperour, who is so reproachfully abused, hath none upon Earth comparable to him in honour.* He is the head, nay, if any thing be imaginable that can be higher than the Head, he is *apex, vertex, the Top of the Head, the Crown*, and that not of one, every one, any or many, but τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἁπάντων *of all upon Earth.*

Saint *Hierom* homologates and confirms what they say commenting upon *Dan.* 2. upon these words, *He changeth Times and Seasons, &c. Non ergò miremur*, saith he, *si quando cernimus, & regibus reges, & regnis regna succedere*

ſuccedere, quæ Dei gubernantur, & mutantur, & finiuntur arbitrio, cauſaſque ſingulorum novit ille, qui conditor omnium eſt, & ſæpè malos reges patitur ſuſcitari, ut mali malos puniant. Saint *Hierom*'s mind is fully this, that Kings and Kingdoms have *their Conſtitution, Change, and deſtitution* by *the ſole royal Pleaſure of God*. And that in all, he is no leſs the Author than he is Creator of all. Finally, that not only *good Kings* are of God's making, but *bad Kings* too, and that to puniſh our Sins.

No man hath ſpoken more home than Saint *Auguſtine*, look upon him *l.* 4. *de Civit. Dei, c.* 33. *Deus ille felicitatis Author, quia ſolus verus deus eſt, ipſe dat regna terrena bonis & malis. Neque hoc temerè, quaſi fortuitò, quia deus eſt, non fortunæ, ſed pro rerum ordine & tempore, occulto nobis, notiſſimo ſibi.* In which Paſſage St. *Auſtin* vindicates the making of Kings *abſolutely* to God, by a reaſon unanſwerable, *Quia ſolus verus deus eſt*; becauſe he alone is the true God. The meaning is, you may as well deny him to be the only true God, as rob him of this Prerogative of making Kings; and in his Senſe, he or they that aſſume this power to themſelves, intrude ſacrilegiouſly upon God's Right. He amplifieth this, ſhewing Kings are not caſual by hap-hazard, but cauſal, God in his wiſe and unſearchable Providence ſeriding bad or good Kings according to the Exigence of time and the people, to bleſs or puniſh. He reſolves all in a *docta ignorantia*, a myſterious way, that howſoever we cannot reach the way nor find the reaſon, why it is ſo, yet is well known to God, to which we are religiouſly to ſubmit, and not curiouſly and preſumptuouſly to enquire.

Turn to him again, *l.* 5. *de Civ. Dei, c.* 21. *Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperii poteſtatem niſi vero Deo---*

Deo---ille igitur unus verus Deus qui nec judicio nec adjutorio deserit genus humanum; quando velit & quantum voluit Romanis regnum dedit: qui dedit Assyriis, vel etiam Persis; Qui Mario, ipse Caio Cæsari; Qui Augusto, ipse & Neroni; Qui Vespasiano vel patri vel filio suavissimis Imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo; & ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino Christiano ipse Apostatæ Juliano.---Hoc planè Deus unus verus regit & gubernat ut placet. A Passage able to stop the Devil's Mouth: observe in it first, that Saint *Augustine* will not admit that Kings and Kingdoms are derived from *Pope*, *Presbytery*, or *People*, but of him alone who is *Deus verus unus*, the true and only God. 2. Next, that he will admit no more search, but to be content with his *placet*, Will to give it to whom he will, and in what Extent for Power and Time he will. Thirdly, in Saint *Austin*'s mind this is not only verified of the *Jewish* Kings, but of the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Roman*, and all others besides. Fourthly, Saint *Austin* knew not this new *devised quirk* of *potestas in abstracto*, & *concreto*, of Power abstractly considered from the Person in which it is fixed, but *in concreto*, he averreth that both the Power and Person invested with the Power are of God. Fifthly, it is worth our notice taking, that the holy Father specifieth only *Empire* and *Monarchy*. Sixthly, the Extent is most observable, this Conclusion or Maxim of Saint *Austin*'s holds well, of all Kings whatsoever they be, Heathen, or Jewish, or Christian; if Christian, bad or good, sound in the Faith or Hereticks; if Heathen, whether good moral men or Persecutors. See and consider, how wisely and fitly he makes a coupling together; 1. Of *Marius* and *Caius Cæsar*. 2. Of *Augustus* and *Nero*, *Flavius* the Father, and *Titus* the Son with *Domitian*.

3. Of

3. Of *Conſtantine* the ſound Chriſtian; and *Julian* the Apoſtate. Seventhly, laſtly, it is moſt obſervable that he will have all of all ſorts to be entirely given to God, *Non tribuamus niſi vero Deo dandi regni atque imperii poteſtatem.* This *non niſi vero Deo*, admits no ſharer no copartner. He is not content to ſay it once, but reſumeth it again, and with an *Emphaſis*, a greater Strength of Expreſſion, *Hæc planè Deus unus verus regit, gubernat ut placet.* It is *unus verus Deus*, and the way of beſtowing *ut placet.* This holy Father is moſt plentiful for this Truth, for Brevities ſake, I refer you to his 2. *Tom. Epiſt.* 54. *ad Maced.* and to his 6. *Tractat.* upon St. *John*'s Goſpel, *Tom.* 9. *& paſſim.*

The ancient Popes and Biſhops of *Rome*, lived and died in this Faith. See *Anaſtaſius Epiſt. unic. ad Anaſtaſ. Imperat.* *Liberius*'s Teſtimony is above cited. *Symmachus*, writing to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, ſaith, *Memento te hominem eſſe, ut poſſis rectè uti conceſſa tibi divinitus poteſtate*, Remember (ſaith the holy Biſhop) that thou art but a man, that thou mayſt uſe aright that power which God hath given thee. *Leo* in his Epiſtle to *Leo* the Emperour, which in the Tomes of the Councels is 73. *Magnum ergò vobis eſt ut diademati veſtro de manu Domini addatur corona fidei, & de hoſtibus Eccleſiæ triumphetis, &c.* *Leo* knew no better, but that his temporal Diadem was no leſs ſet upon his Head by the hand of God immediately, than the Crown of Faith, and that God made him to triumph over the Enemies of the Church; yet becauſe a cavelling Spirit, ſuch as our Sectaries are inſpired with, may cloud this Paſſage by an amphibolous Conſtruction, I gave you a plain one *Epiſt.* 13. writing to *Pulcheria* the Empreſs, where he ſaith, *Sicuti Spiritu ſancto didiciſtis, illi per omnia poteſtatem veſtram ſubjicitis, cujus munere & pro-*

& protectione regnatis. Saint *Leo* knew not that there was any co-ordinate Power with the Emperour, He knew he was ſolely and immediately ſubordinate to God, to whom he ought of due to ſubmit and ſubject himſelf, and that with good reaſon, becauſe by his immediate Gift and Collation he had the Empire, and by his Power was protected in his Government. The holy Biſhop raiſeth this ſo high, as to intimate it is a Doctrine taught by the Holy Spirit; let the World and good men judge then, what Spirit teacheth the different or contrary Doctrine. *Stephanus* the ſixth writing to *Baſilius* the Emperour, ſaith, that *He carried the Image of Chriſt himſelf upon Earth, vide Baron. Tom.* 10. *Anno* 885. *n.* 11. It is like enough the Church then did not ſtand to call Emperours *Chriſt's Vicegerents.* In brief, in ſum, Was it not the uſual Benediction the holy Popes of *Rome* uſed, writing to Emperours and Kings, to wiſh to them Grace, all Health and Happineſs, *In eo per quem Reges regnant, in God, and by God, by whom Kings onely reign?*

It were eaſie for us to adduce numbers of Councels to prove this truth. The Counceel of *Toledo, Tolet. 6. c.* 14. *Nefas eſt in dubium ejus deducere poteſtatem, cui omnium gubernatio ſupremo conſtat delegata judicio*: It is an impious thing and unlawful, to call in queſtion his Power, to whom to rule over all is by Divine Judgment and Decree collated. Amongſt the Councels of *Paris* you have one, which after that it hath produced many Teſtimonies of Scripture, and namely ſome of thoſe we cited above, to prove the immediate conſtitution of Kings by Almighty God, concludeth thus; *Conſtat ergo quia non actu, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humanæ, ſed virtute, imo occulto judicio diſpoſitionis divinæ regnum confertur terrenum.* This expreſſion

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is worthy to be ſet in Letters of Gold: the Fathers there met together will not have the coming at Kingdoms to be *from any act humane, any deſire or endeavour humane, any Power humane*; but from the Power of God, and the wiſe, the ſecret diſpoſing of God in his over-ruling Providence.

If it could add any thing to what is ſaid, we might have a cloud of Witneſſes of Humane and Heathen Writers, who have been more conſonant to ſound Divinity in this Tenet than Puritan or Jeſuit, or our new Sectaries. They never imagined *Majeſty* to be of ſo low a Birth as to be begotten of any thing below; ſee *Ovid. Faſt. lib.* 5. *Homer* calls all Kings διοτρέφεις. *Jupiter* is little enough in his conceit to be their Nurſe-father. *Plautus* termeth all Kings *Humanos Joves*. *Plutarch* not unlike Saint *Paul* in this, calleth the King, ὑπηρέτης τῦ θεῦ not τῦ λαῦ, the Miniſter of God, not the Servant of the People. Elſewhere he is called εἰκὼν ἔμψυχος τῦ θεῦ, the living Image of God upon Earth; the image of his Power, his Wiſdom, his Sovereignty; *Dio lib.* 33. of a King ſpeaketh thus; αὐτοτελὴς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων; πάντατε οἷα βέλοιτο ποιῆ καὶ παθ' ὅσα μὴ βέλοιτο μὴ πεάτῃ. *Dio* knew no ſubordination to any or many, he did think a King was αὐτοτελὴς, αὐτοκράτωρ: and that over himſelf, and all, and controulable by no Law; that he was not to be called to an account by men.

Becauſe I value not theſe Teſtimonies at that rate, as to ſway the Judgment, where better Proofs are not from Holy Scripture and Church, leaving them, and having ſufficiently, by Authority Sacred and Eccleſiaſtical, proved our Concluſion, and overthrown the Principle of Jeſuit and Puritan, I come

to

to ſee whether Reaſon pleadeth more for them or for us.

CHAP. VII.

That the Government of mankind is eſtabliſhed by God, and is neceſſary de Jure Naturæ, ***is proved by Reaſon, againſt thoſe that hold, that all Government is Arbitrary, of the voluntary conſtitution and compoſition of men.***

THE Jeſuit doth willingly acknowledge, that Government, *in theſi, in genere*, in its abſtract and generical conception is *de jure Divino, de jure Naturæ*, is by God's eſtabliſhment, and by the neceſſary and uncontroulable dictate of Nature, howſoever it is as true, that they hold ἐν ὑποθέσει, *in ſpecie*, that the *ſpecification* of the Government, or reſtraint to Monarchy, Ariſtocracie, Democracie, or a mixed Government of theſe, if it be imaginable or poſſible, is κατὰ συνθήκην, by humane conſtitution. Some in theſe diſtempered Times have gone a little more wide in Errour than the Jeſuit, averring that a difference of Superiour and Inferiour is an Herauldry unknown to Nature and the Goſpel, ſolely and ſimply introduced by the conſtitution and compoſition of man. We will therefore by God's Grace prove, that Government is *de jure Naturæ*, neceſſary by God's eſtabliſhed Ordinance; in debate of which, we are confident it will appear, that Sovereign Authority, whether it be fixed

fixed in one, as in Monarchy; or ſome few of the better ſort, as in Ariſtocracy; or in many, as in Democracy; is derived from God immediately, and referreth to him as its proper efficient and conſtituent.

That God is the Author of all Government amongſt his Creatures, and eſpecially of the Government of mankind, appeareth by reaſon. 1. The ſame who is the Author of all Creatures in their Being and Exiſtence, muſt be the Author of their Subſiſtence and Preſervation in that Being and Exiſtence. It is an infallible Maxim in the Schools, in Nature, in Scripture; *Qui dat eſſe, dat & conſervare*: He that giveth Being is the ſame that preſerveth the Being. Creation is begun Conſervation, and Conſervation is a continued Creation: we aſſume, Things made exiſtent by Creation, cannot ſubſiſt and have continuance, but by Order, by Government; from whence naturally it followeth, God muſt be the Author of this Order and Government, and conſequently hath not left it arbitrary to man by compoſition and conſent to do it. Authority ſtrengtheneth this reaſon. Saint *Auguſtine* writing againſt *Fauſtus*, ſaith, *Æternâ lege juberi, ut ordo naturalis conſervetur*; It is not arbitrary (in St. *Auſtin*'s mind) to man whether Government or not; for what is κατὰ συνθήκην, by Humane Conſtitution, if we will believe the Prince of Philoſophers, is arbitrary; but in his judgment *jubetur*, it is *juſſum*, a commanded, a neceſſary thing; and that *æternâ lege*, by an inevitable irrepealable Ordinance, which nothing temporary can make void. But what is this I pray you? the holy Father telleth you, *Ut ordo naturalis conſervetur*, that the Order God in nature hath eſtabliſhed be preſerved and conſerved. If this come not

not home enough, take it with a full Commentary from *Anſelme*, who lived long after him, and in whoſe days this Tenet lived in Vigor: upon 1 *Cor.* 15. he ſaith, *Omnibus notum ſit nullum principum, nullámque poteſtatem & virtutem, ſive cœleſtium, ſive terreſtrium, per ſe habuiſſe aliquid principatus, vel poteſtatis, aut virtutis, ſed ab illo à quo ſunt omnia, non ſolùm ut ſint, ſed etiam ut ordinata ſint:* Be it known to all men, ſaith the holy man, that none inveſted with Sovereignty, Dominion, or Power, hath either Principality, or Dominion, or Power by himſelf, but ſolely from him by whom they have not only their *Being in Nature*, but alſo to be *ſo order'd* for their better Being and Preſervation by Order. If Saint *Auſtin*'s firſt Paſſage above cited be not clear enough, full enough, hear him ſpeak for himſelf, *Lib.* 3. *Confeſſ. cap.* 8. *Generale pactum eſt ſocietatis humanæ obedire regibus ſuis*: It is a natural, a general, a univerſal Compact, Covenant of humane Society to obey their Kings. In the Fathers Dialect, *Generale pactum* is the dictate of Nature, and he that diſclaimeth *Jus naturæ*, the dictate of Nature, to be *Jus divinum*, the Law and Ordinance of God, hath made a Divorce betwixt himſelf, and Nature, and Reaſon, and ſound Divinity. It is obſervable, that he ſaith this *Generale pactum*, this Ordinance of Nature is *obedire Regibus ſuis*, to obey their Kings: I beg the Favour that our Sectaries will ſhew as much for *Ariſtocracy* or *Democracy*, or any other imaginable Spece of Government.

The Strength of this Argument is more ſeen, if you conſider this; If God Almighty be not as much the Author of the order of the Government of mankind, as he is the Creator of man and mankind; then Almighty God hath not perfected his good Work entirely

ly to, or towards man and mankind, and hath left man in a worſe Condition than all other his Creatures in the *Univerſe* beſides. The Conſequence is neceſſary; for it was not ſufficient nor conformable to the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God to make man the little World, the Abridgment of the Perfections of all Creatures, except he provided by his Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs, how he ſhould be continued and preſerved in Being and Happineſs: but this without Order and Government is neither imaginable, nor really poſſible. Theſe two are indiviſibly, inſeparably given to God in Scripture. He is ποιῶν τὰ πάντα, and φέρων τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ; *the Creator of all things, and Upholder of all things*: Heb. 1. 2, 3. As all things are ἐξ αὐτοῦ, *of him*, ſo all things are δι' αὐτοῦ, *by him*: Rom. 11. *verſ. ult.* Gen. 2. 1. *Thus the Heaven and the Earth were perfected, and all the hoſt of them. Perfecti ſunt cœli & terra, & omnes exercitus eorum*, ſaith the old Interpreter. This, that all the Creatures were *very good*, Gen. 1. 31. and that all were *perfected*, Gen. 2. 1. importeth not only that all in the Bounty of God were created in their ſpecifie and individual Natures good in themſelves, but alſo that by the Decree and Ordinance of God were eſtabliſhed to continue and to be preſerved thus. But no Subſiſtence, no Continuance without Order and Government, reaſon, Senſe, Experience, evidence it, confirm it. Nor is Authority wanting; *Greg. Nazianzen Orat. de moderat. in diſput. ſerv.* ſaith, τάξις μήτηρ καὶ ἀσφάλεια τῶν ὄντων, Order, Government, is the Mother, the Nurſe, the Eſtabliſher of all things; Saint *Paul*, Philip 2. 5. intimateth, that without order the Stedfaſtneſs of Faith cannot be; *He rejoyced to behold their order, and*

the Stedfastness of Faith. First, order; then Stedfastness of Faith; without order, then no Stedfastness in Faith, and consequently no Faith. To return to our point, that the Establishment of Order and Government is no less the immediate Work of God than the Creation of all. See *Psal.* 148. where the *Psalmist* exhorting or exciting all the Creatures to serve God, giveth the Reason, *vers.* 6, 7. *For he commanded and they were created.* He hath also established them for ever, *He hath made a Decree that shall not pass.*

Do we not see all the Creatures established in a Subordination one to another? See we not in the lifeless and senseless Creatures that the inferiour giveth a Tacite Reverence, and silent Obedience to the Superiour? See we not upon the other part, that the superiour Creature hath a powerful and effectual Influence upon the inferiour to its Good and Being, without which it could neither subsist, nor act what is fitting and convenient to its Nature? In this Subordination, do we not see that from the lowest we ascend to a Superiour, from one Superiour to another, till at last we come to *One Supream*, which receiveth nothing to better it from any Inferiour at all, but only due Reverence and Obedience, and notwithstanding hath a *powerful and benign* Influence upon all beneath it? From whence, I pray you, is this, but from the sacred and inviolable Gods of Nature? The impartial may judge how much this pleadeth for the Excellency of Monarchy; and how like it is to that Order God hath established *in the Universe*. Look up to Heaven, consider those blessed and happy Angels in the Heavens; is there not there this established Order, with this Subordination, and probably is consummated at last in an excellent one, supereminent to all? For this I will not contentiously con-

contend, Order and Superiority with Inferiority, I am confident no intelligent moderate Divine will deny. How can it then be conceived, that God hath left it to the ſimple Conſent and Compoſition of man, to make and eſtabliſh a herauldry of *Sub* and *Supra*, of one above another, which neither Nature nor the Goſpel doth warrant? To leave it thus arbitrary, that upon this preſuppoſed Principle, mankind may be without Government at all; which Paradox cannot be maintained, ſeeing without Order (which naturally and intrinſecally includeth in it a Priority and Poſteriority, a Superiority and Inferiority, a *Sub* and *Supra*) neither *Being nor happy Being* can be preſerved; which Happineſs is more requiſite for man, by that he is a rational Creature, and more neceſſary for us here, than for the intellectual Spirits of Angels in Heaven, who have the Preſence and Direction of Almighty God, in whoſe Preſence they ſtand, and whoſe Commands they expect and perform.

Nor is it probable to my poor thinking, that when God Almighty in the Government of all things under the Cope of Heaven, (I mean bodily) hath made the Superiour to have by his eſtabliſhed Ordinance a native inherent Superiority, with a powerful and benign Influence upon its Inferiour, which is no ways derived from the Inferiour by Communication, in what proportion it will, and reſumable upon ſuch Exigents as the inferiour lifteth, hath left to the multitude the Community, the Collective, the repreſentative or virtual Body, to derive from it ſelf, and communicate *Sovereignty, whether in one, or few, or more* in that meaſure and Proportion pleaſeth them, which they may *reſume at Pleaſure*, at leaſt in *ſuch exigent Caſes*, which ſometimes *really may be*, but oftner are fancyed to be

ſuch: becauſe upon theſe Grounds preſuppoſed, Reverence and Obedience cannot but be uncertain, and the Sovereign diſabled from giving and Communicating that Influence which is neceſſary for the Preſervation of all and every Inferiour.

I humbly entreat thoſe who are contrary minded, to conſider ſeriouſly, how Almighty God in the Creation of man, before the Woman was made *of him, and for him*, and before he had any Child or Subject to govern, fixed Authority and Power for Government in the perſon of *Adam*. This to aver, that Government was fixed in a Governour before he had over whom he was to bear rule, is no Paradox in Philoſophy, (if I pleaſed to inſiſt philoſophically to clear it) nor a more ſtrange thing to conſider, than when a *Poſthumus*, one born after the death of his Father, by right inheriteth his Fathers Honour and Revenues. Is it not very conſiderable that God did not make *Evah* of the Earth as he did *Adam*, but made her *of the man*, and declareth too, made her *for man*? It is more than probable then, God in his Wiſdom did not think it fit (that he was able to do it I hope none dare to deny) to make *two independents*, and liked beſt of all Governments of Mankind, *The Sovereignty of one*, and that with that Extent, that both Wife and Poſterity ſhould ſubmit and ſubject themſelves to him. If *Adam* had not fallen, Divines doubt not but Government had been. Government without Subordination is not conceivable, nor Subordination without the real Relations of Superiority and Inferiority. It is not to be controverted, if *Adam* had never fallen, Ariſtocracy or Democracy, or mixed Government had never been exiſtent or apparent in the world. What ſpece of Government had been then, I pray you tell me it? *Et eris mihi mag-*

magnus Apollo; If then *in ſtatu inſtituto*, in the State of Innocency and Perfection God Almighty did eſtabliſh Government, and fix it in *Adam* before his wife was created, or a ſubject born, is it not by this evident that God judged it in his Wiſdom, better that neither Woman nor Poſterity ſhould be, than that one ſhould not be to rule all? The Argument concludes *à minori ad majus*, from the leſs to the more; if it was neceſſary in the ſtate of innocency to eſtabliſh it thus by Gods own Decree, how much more *in ſtatu peccati*, in our decayed and corrupted ſtate by Sin? And yet more to aſſure us, that this Sovereignty was not perſonally fixed in *Adam*, nor that it was loſt by *Adam*'s Fall, or that the ſtate of Sin requireth as more convenient for it, another ſpece of Government by more than one; after the Fall it is declared tranſmiſſible from *Adam* to the firſt-born, *Gen.* 4. *Sub te erit appetitus ejus, & dominaberis ei.* Let any man judge then whether or not with reaſon it can be ſaid, that this eſtabliſhment of *Sub* and *Supra*, Subject and Sovereign, be the onely conſtitution of man. And withal by the way, let any indifferent man judge what may be ſaid for Monarchy, its excellency and conveniency above other ſpecies of Government; of which anon, *Queſt.* 2. Yet for all this let none miſconſtrue me, as though I condemn Ariſtocracy and Democracy as unlawful Governments. I am certainly aſſured, that when the Apoſtle ſaid, *The Powers that be are ordained of God*, *Rom.* 13. 2. and the *emphaſis*, the force of the word διαταγὴ, which is *authoritativè*, (as we told before) he recalleth us to the firſt order and eſtabliſhment of Almighty God mentioned in Scripture. And by this we may be led on to conſider how *Monarchia fundatur in paterno jure*, how Monarchy is founded in paternal Sovereignty; and the beſt way to find out *jura*

Majestatis, the Sovereign's Prerogative, is to consider well what in Scripture, what in Nature, we find to be the true and natural right of a Father; onely probably, because of mans corruption and untowardness by reason of Sin, it is like God hath allowed more to Sovereign Power to enable and secure it.

Again, To enlarge our selves a little more to clear this Point, seeing it is possible, nay, not onely possibly, but actually it hath fallen out so, that because of mens sins, and by Gods Judgments following Sin, a multitude may be divided from their natural Sovereign, be dispersed by a War, a Persecution, or some other necessity imaginable, and yet meet in a strange Land, or some Territory not inhabited; this case presupposed, I demand, Whether or not this *Populus inconditus* would not condescend presently and necessarily to some Sovereign Power to govern and protect them? who can deny it? Again, if all these were descended from one, or sprung up from one root, and their common Father were with them, would Nature, Equity and Humanity necessitate them to submit to him; and that from him it should be hereditarily transmitted to his first-born, and so forward? who doubteth of this? Well: I change the case, take them not onely as *inconditus populus*, a disordered People, (which is conceivable where a Head is) but as ἀκέφαλος, without one common Ruler; that is, when they are a *farrago Nationum*, and *diversarum familiarum*, a confused mixture of more Nations, more Families, when they have not one common Father. If they condescend that one shall have Sovereign Power over all, and so by consent shall be surrogated in the place of the common Father, and that this Sovereignty shall be transmitted to his eldest Son, and so forth. From whence is this Power? Necessity forceth

ceth them to a Government, (without it they can have neither Society, nor Safety, nor Peace, nor Happineſs) but all their part is onely *to deſign or declare the man*, which is onely *poteſtas deſignativa*, *poteſtas deputativa*, but the Power is onely from Almighty God the *poteſtas collativa*, the Authority, the Soveraignty is of God, from God, God's. The reaſon is evident, the Subſtitute muſt have it by the ſame hand, by the ſame means he had it, in whoſe place he was ſubſtituted. By what is ſaid he cometh in the place of a common Father, and the Father's right is immediately from God, and of God. I am aſhamed to reſume again that the Apoſtle ſaith, ὑπερέχυσα ἐξουσία, the eminent Powers that be, are τάξις, διαταγὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, the Ordinances, the authoritative Eſtabliſhments of God, no leſs than the Authority of a Father above his Son, or of a Wife above her Husband, is of God, and from God immediately, and do not refer to the Wife or Children, as their immediate Donor and Author. *God hath ſpoken once, twice have I heard it, that Power belongeth to the Lord:* Pſal. 62. 11. If you love to hear St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeak, read his words in a proper place upon *Rom.* 13. where he ſaith, Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ ὁμότιμον μάχην πολλάκις εἰσάγει, πολλὰς ἐποίησε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποταγὰς, ὡς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς, ὡς παιδὸς καὶ πατρὸς, ὡς πρεσβύτου καὶ νέου, καὶ δούλου καὶ ἐλευθέρου, ὡς ἄρχοντος καὶ ἀρχομένου, &c. καὶ τί θαυμάζεις ὅτι τῆς ἀνθρώπων, ἅπαντα καὶ ὅτι τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν; ἴδοις γὰρ ἂν καὶ ταῦτα ὁμότιμα πάντα εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔλαττον τὸ κρεῖττον καταπαύσασα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρχειν τῆς μελῶν τὰ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι, ἐποίησε. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀλόγοις δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἴδοι τις ἂν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς βουσὶν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀγέλαις

λαις τῶν ἀγρίων προβάτων. καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ θαλάσση ταύτης ἐστέρηται τῆς εὐταξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλὰ τῶν γενῶν ὑφ' ἑνὶ τάττεται καὶ στρατηγεῖται, καὶ οὕτω μακρὰς ἀποδημίας ἀποδημεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀναρχία πανταχοῦ κακὸν καὶ συγχύσεως αἴτιον. The sum and sense of all is this: Because paritie in Honour and Power always worketh War and Contention, God to prevent this Mischief, hath ordained many kinds of Powers, and as many kinds of Subjections, as the man to have Power over his Wife, a Father to have Power over the Son, a King to rule, and Subjects to obey: And this is not only apparent amongst men, but also in the very body of every man, where some members are superiour to other in Worth and Power, to command the Inferiour: This established Order hath place amongst irrational Creatures; as Bees and Cranes do follow one, Flocks and Herds do the same. In the Sea this is to be seen, where many Fishes do follow one as King, war with him against others, and go following him to places far distant from home. Anarchy, the want of Order and Government, is altogether and always evil, the Mother and Cause of all Confusion and Mischief.

The Result of all is, Government is necessary, as for the Subsistence of all Creatures, so especially for the good and comfortable Society of men. This is not left arbitrary to men, but is by the inviolable Ordinance of God established. Now if it fall forth so, that a multitude disordered, dispersed by any unavoidable Necessity, be without Government, nature overruled by Gods inviolable Ordinance forceth them to submit and subject to some to govern them, and to have Sovereignty over them, whether they resolve upon one, upon some few, or many: The Designation of the person, or persons, is from this disordered rout, but it is

God

God who inveſteth them with the Sovereign Power.

We clear it thus: as, *Poſito generationis fundamento*, when a Father begetteth a Child, *conſequitur ex ordinatione divina & inſtitutione, vel naturali, vel morali ſubjectio filii ad patrem*; it is neceſſary by the inevitable Ordinance of Almighty God, that the Son begotten be ſubject to the Father: So it is by moral divine Inſtitution, that when any People have deputed and deſigned the Perſon or Perſons of the Government, or Governours; the Collation and Donation of this Power and Sovereignty is from God *effectivè*, effectually; and from the Community but *conſecutivè*, becauſe *conſequitur ad electionem populi, ex divina & ordinatione & collatione*, it followeth and is inſeparably conjoyned by God and his Appointment. Take the like; A woman marriageable in her own Power maketh choice of a man to be her Husband, her Choice and Conſent giveth not to him marital Power, but this Right and Prerogative of the Husband is from Almighty God; for who dare ſay that in the woman is primarily and radically *marital Power?*

Conſider yet a little more; the King elected to be a Sovereign to ſuch a headleſs, a diſordered Multitude as we preſuppoſe, is ſurrogated in the place of a common Father to the whole Community over which he is to bear rule. The Scripture expreſſeth him ſo, *Exod.* 20. Command. 5. *Honora patrem, Honour thy Father.* The Heathen conceived it ſo; See *Ariſtotel. Ethic. lib.* 8. *c.* 10. and *Polit. lib.* 1. *c.* 2. *Homer. Odyſſ.* 1. from which two Conſequents unavoidable are deduced. 1. Firſt, as the natural Father (ſuppoſe that *Adam* were living, had he not juſt Title to the Monarchy of the World?) receiveth not any *paternal Right, Power, or Authority*, from his Poſterity, or thoſe are come of his Loyns; but hath this from God

and

and the Ordinance of Nature, which is *jus divinum* (as we have ſaid) no more can *the Father ſurrogated* in the place and power of the natural Father be ſaid to receive his Right, his Power, his Sovereignty from the Community. 2. The ſecond Conſequent and Conſequence is, that according to the maxim of the Law, *Surrogatus gaudet privilegiis ejus cui ſurrogatur*; and *Qui ſuccedit in locum ſuccedit in jus*, the Perſon ſurrogated hath all the Power, the Priviledge, the Perſon had Right to, in whoſe place he is ſurrogated. When a man hath no Son by Nature or Iſſue of his own, a Son adopted is entituled to all the Right, Power, Revenue, was tranſmiſſible to a Son begotten of his own Body. A baſe born Son legitimated, is inveſted with all the Right, Title, Honour, Inheritance, was due to a lawful begotten Son. The reaſon is evident is pregnant, both the one and the other, the adopted Son, and the baſe Son legitimated are ſurrogated into the place of the lawful and natural begotten Son. Why then, I pray you, ſhall not, ſhould not the ſurrogated Father by Election enjoy the Priviledges and Rights of the Father natural? Methinks more, for the warrant of the two latter cannot be raiſed to any higher Conſtitution than humane Appointment, but the other of the ſurrogated Father floweth and followeth the inviolable and unrepealable Ordinance of Almighty God. For my part a King deſigned in ſuch caſe, ought, ſhould enjoy his paternal Right, no leſs than *Melchiſedeck* or *Abraham*. I am the more powerfully inclined to this Opinion; that I ſee in holy Writ, that it pleaſed God in his Wiſdom and Juſtice to transfer the Right of the firſt born, to the younger, the ſurrogated was not one whit leſſened in his Prerogative and Power, but had fully entirely what was due

to

to the first born, in whose place he was surrogated. Consider this in *Judah*, when *Reubens* Right of *Primogeniture* was forfeited, and he with his Posterity invested with it, and surrogated in his place. See, read and consider the Royal Prerogatives by the Spirit of Prophecy bestowed upon *Judah*, *Gen.* 49. of which by Gods Grace more largely, *Quest.* 4. The like may be seen in *David*, whom God preferred to *Eliab* his elder Brother.

It is a ruled case in Law, *Modus acquirendi non tollit jus possidendi*; the way by which we come to have *jus quæsitum* (as Jurists term it) the Right to any thing, (provided it be lawful, otherwise that Maxim is of undoubted Truth, *Quod ab initio non valuit progressu temporis convalescere non potest*, long Possession cannot secure an injust Title; it is not my purpose now to enter upon *Usucapio*, or *Jus proscriptionis*) is not prejudiced by the way by which we obtain it. *Jacob* had no less Right to the Birth-right, having it by a just Title, than *Esau*. The Jurists give the reason of this, *Quomodocunq; res est acquisita, possessio est de jure gentium*, if a man come at any thing by a legal Title, by the *Law of Nations*, that is, *by the Law of common Equity*, the Possession or Apprehension is entire and valid. Now apply all this, when a People disordered are without Government, and destitute of a Governour, to whom by a Title and Right of Nature it is due, condescend to design or chuse one for their Ruler, why shall he not, should he not enjoy, inherit the Right of the deficient Proprietor? and seeing the Right Proprietor had this Right by God, by Nature; how can it be, but howsoever the Designation of the Person is from the disordered Community, yet the Collation of the Power is from God immediately,

ately, and from his ſacred and inviolable Ordinance? And what can be ſaid againſt *modus acquirendi*, the way by which ſuch a one elected obtaineth this right? for ſeeing God doth not now ſend *Samuels* or *Eliſhas* to anoint or declare Kings, we are in his ordinary Providence to conceive the Deſignation or Election of the Perſon, is the manifeſtation of God's Will, *voluntas ſigni*, as the School ſpeaketh; juſt ſo, as when the Church deſigneth one to ſacred Orders.

In few words take all with you. God who made all things is the Author of Order, by which all things are preſerved; without Order there can be no Being, but all muſt either turn to Annihilation, or to a confuſed Chaos. God in Scripture is no leſs the God of Order than the Creator of all things. In Heaven amongſt the Angels we ſee it eſtabliſhed. Amongſt all Creatures betwixt the cope of Heaven and the center of the Earth it is, a ſweet ſubordination, a ſweet harmony is ſeen; the Inferiour giving a tacite reverence, a due obedience to its Superiour, the Superiour having an over-ruling Power, with a benign influence upon all Inferiours to it. Can we then dream to our ſelves, that God did leave man without this mean of ſubſiſtence, that it was Arbitrary to him to appoint and ſpecifie either no Government at all, or what kind or ſpece of Government he pleaſed? *Plato* in his Republick can tell ſuch a man, that he that can think he may ſubſiſt without a Governour, muſt either be God, or ſomething worſe than nothing. Hath God provided ſo for all Creatures in Heaven and Earth, that he hath eſtabliſhed a Government amongſt all, and that conform to every one's nature, and hath he left man, in ſome reſpects the moſt excellent and perfect of all Crea-

Creatures, *the Abridgment of the whole World, the Microcoſme*, without this eſtabliſhed order? Do we not ſee that before the Woman came into the World, or a Child was born, God fixed Government in the perſon of *Adam?* Did he not ſecure it, that it ſhould be tranſmitted to the firſt born, that Government amongſt mortal men ſhould be immortal? and ſeeing Sin with much more Miſery and Miſchief hath brought into the World, that men ſhould ſometimes be driven from their natural and *proper Father, King and Sovereign*, that for their Subſiſtence in Happineſs and plenty, and Protection from Evil and Miſchief, they are forced to chuſe one or more, and *to ſurrogate him or them in his place*, to whom by God and Nature it was due to bear rule over them; that he or they coming in the place and power of the natural Father or King, have his or their Sovereignty, not by a voluntary Conſent, but by a neceſſary act; and that the Power is not by Derivation from the Community, but by immediate Donation from Almighty God.

CHAP. VIII.

That Sovereignty is not by Derivation from the Community, is proved by more Reaſons.

IF there were no more to diſprove this popular Tenet, *That Sovereignty in a King is by Derivation from the Community*, this is more than enough, that it is built upon a falſe Ground, for it preſuppoſeth and taketh as granted, that in *the Community*, whether *collective*

tective of all Individuals, or virtual and repreſentative by ſome in place of all, there is inherent a *Poteſtas activa rectiva*, a ruling active Power, which is moſt falſe. If we will truſt Philoſophy, *Natura nihil dat virtutem ſine actu: & cujus eſt potentia ejus eſt actus.* Ariſtot. de form. & vigil. *Potentia ſine actu otioſa eſt & inutilis.* And the Light of Nature teacheth, that *Deus & natura nihil faciunt fruſtra*: God and Nature hath not beſtowed upon any thing in the Univerſe, a Power which is idle and to no purpoſe, as certainly that Power muſt be, which is never actuated. But now this Power of actual ruling was never acted by the Community, it was never ſeen nor exerciſed by them. The collective or diffuſive body comprehends within its Verge, all and every Individual. Now how is it imaginable, that in all the People in groſs, in commune, this *Poteſtas activa regiminis*, or *Poteſtas activi regiminis*, this power of actuating Government is ſeated as in its prime, principal, and moſt proper Seat and Subject? Government *intrinſecally*, *eſſentially*, includes in it a *ſpecifick Diſtinction* of *regentes* and *recti*, ſome to be Governours, and ſome to be governed. If all and every one hath this Power above-mentioned, where then are thoſe that are to be ruled and governed?

If they would ſpeak rationally, there can no other Power be conceived to be inherent in the *Community* naturally and properly, but only *poteſtas paſſiva regiminis*, a Capacity or Suſceptibility to be governed by one or by more. This Capacity in the *Community* is attended with an *appetitus naturalis*, and *neceſſarius ad regimen*, a natural, neceſſary, and vehement Inclination and Deſire to ſubmit to Government, by which it is to be ſtated into an happier and ſafer Poſture and Condition. Juſt ſo, as *Materia prima & vaga appetit formam*

mam quâ actuatur & perficitur; as the first matter (of which natural Philosophy speaketh) hath a Desire to be united to some Form, by which receiving a particular Determination to a specifick and individual Entity it is actuated and perfected: or as *Debilior sexus appetit naturaliter sexum nobiliorem quo perficitur.* This Capacity in the Community, being natural and common to all, and having from it issuing out a vehement desire to actual Government, obliges all *Ex vi naturæ subesse imperio*, by the Law and Dictate of Nature to submit to actual Government; which Desire or Propension, if you reflect upon it, *præscindendo à communi*, as it is in every individual and particular Person of this Body, is not meerly and properly *voluntary*: because, howsoever Nature dictates, that Government is *necessary*, for the maintenance of the Society, for Happiness, for Safety and Protection; yet every singular and individual person, by Corruption and self-love hath *naturalem repugnantiam*, a natural Averseness and Repugnancy to submit to any. *Singuli regnum in pectore gerimus*; the lowest Bramble willingly will not submit to the tallest Cedar: for this Cause Saint *Hierom* saith, *Rex nolentibus præest.* It is despair to attain at Government that makes the greatest and most part to submit to Government; and that they see and feel, that without Government none can enjoy Society or Safety; this forceth that natural Repugnancy, which is severally and singularly in every one to give way to that universal, natural, and necessary Propension of Nature to Government.

This *appetitus universalis* and *naturalis*, this vehement necessary Propension and desire to Government is not unlike to that act of the understanding by which it assenteth to the first Principles of undeniable, of uncontroul-

controulable Truth, which are evident *ex vi terminorum*, by evident Appearance in the essential Connexion of the Terms; or is not unlike to that first act of mans Will by which necessarily *fertur in summum bonum*, it is carried to it's chief good: both of these in sound Philosophy, are not *actus liberi*, free acts of the Understanding and Will, but *necessarii*, such as cannot otherwise be: just so this Consent and Submission to Government, which is the brood of that natural Propension to Government, for the Reasons above specified, is not *liber*, not so free, as it may chuse or reject, but in some kind it is *necessarius*, elicited by Force, Constraint or Necessity, that all and every one are necessitated to it by that Necessity of Obedience Nature hath layed upon them: from what is said rationally and by necessary Consequence it followeth that this Consent in the Community, and every individual is not *purè activus*, purely and simply active, but hath more Alliance with a *consensus passivus*, *a necessary necessitated Consent*: from this then it is more than apparent, that by that our *new Statists* call the voluntary Consent of the People, nothing is bestowed upon him or them in whom the Sovereignty is fixed; nor can the Community be a Donor of any Right or Power but in Submission and Subjection. It will puzzle infinitely our New-state-Philosophy to make any thing in it's kind passive really active, and collative of positive Acts and Effects; except that as they have changed Faith, so they will overturn true Reason: from hence it will follow necessarily, that by Government established, the People and Community are stated in a more perfect, a more happy Condition. *Solomon* knew it well, *Prov.* 11. 14. *Ubi non est gubernator populus corruit*, where there is no Governour the people perish-

periſheth. It is not once but often repeated in the Book of the Judges, when Idolatry, Rapine and Rapt abounded, *In diebus illis non erit Rex in Iſraele*, in thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael. Saint *Paul* homologates this Doctrine, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2. intimating that there can neither *Peace* nor *quiet*, *godlineſs* nor *honeſty* be where Kings are not. This *natural propenſion*, neceſſitated by theſe conſiderations, over-ruleth and overcometh the *natural repugnancy* that is in every individual, in every ſingular one. Again, this being the Dictate of Nature, it cannot but refer to God, as to its immediate Author, for God is the Author of Nature.

Nature hath taught natural men this truth, more ſhame it is for us, who would be thought Chriſtians, to be ignorant of it, or to oppoſe it. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *lib.* 1. *Polit. c.* 1. *&* 2. that Man is by Nature ζῶον πολιτικὸν, made and ordained for Society. *Plato* in his fancied Republick telleth us, that he muſt be God and not man, that can imagine to have that All-ſufficiency to live without Society, and Society without Government is not conceivable, is not imaginable. The ſame *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that *Civitas eſt de natura*; that Government is not Arbitrary, but neceſſary, by the over-ruling command of Nature.

In brief, the reſult of all this Argument is, *that Power to rule or act the Sovereign*, is not naturally inherent in the Community, *the collective* or *diffuſive Body*; all the People have is a *capacity to be governed*, with a *vehement deſire* to be ſtated in a condition of Peace and Safety, which cannot be effected without *an union with an actual Government* in ſome, to which the *Community* ſubmitteth and ſubjecteth *paſſively* more than *actively*, every individual having within him by in-

bred corruption *an actual repugnancy* to ſubmit to any, is neceſſitated to admit of Government by force of that natural inclination to preſerve himſelf in Peace, Plenty, and Safety; this being moſt true in it ſelf, and verified by the experience and inward teſtimony of every one who hath not ſhaken off natural reaſon; How can it be made appear that *this Sovereignty, this actual Power to rule*, is derived, transferred from the Community all *collectively*, conſidered, or every one *diffuſively* conſidered, or from a *repreſentative body*, Feoffees of truſt from them? A Countrey Clown can tell you, *Nemo poteſt dare quod non habet*; It is impoſſible to give to another that we have not our ſelves: and Juriſts do tell us, *Nemo poteſt transferre in alium quod non habet in ſe.*

What may be judged of their Extravagancies by what is ſaid, is more than apparent. How dare they be ſo impertinent, ſo impudent to ſay, that *in the People there is an underived Majeſty*? It is right down contradictory to Scripture, *Dan.* 2. 37. *&* 5. 18. It is ſaid, *God giveth Kingdom, Power, Strength, Glory and Majeſty.* More abſurd is that, that they with brazen-face affirm, this Majeſty in a King is derived onely *cumulativè*, *communicativè*, ſo that the People are not deveſted of it, but that *in certis caſibus*, in ſome caſes (which if they be not real, People ſhall fanſie them at pleaſure) this ſame Sovereignty and Majeſty is reſumable. An old Philoſopher would laugh at him who would preſume to ſay, that a matter paſſive actuated and perfected by Union with a Form, could at pleaſure ſhake off that ſpecifick and individual Form, and marry it ſelf to another: they may with as good reaſon ſay, that a Husband hath Marital Power from his Wife, and to gratifie that Sex, with which they are very

very prevalent, they may endow every Wife with that Power to resume her Freedom, and to marry to another at pleasure.

A third reason against this Paradox in State and Divinity is this, there is no warrant in Scripture, nor doth Nature teach, that God hath fixed all Government, Sovereignty and Majesty, in the *Community*, as in its *prime and proper subject*. The fittest opportunity to evidence this Right and Prerogative of the People, was certainly when *Saul* was anointed and appointed the first King of *Israel*. Till this time God did retain the Government in his own hands, and acted it by the hands of *Moses*, *Joshua*, &c. as his Viceroyes and Deputies: the Text of Scripture is plain in this, 1 *Sam.* 8. 7. God saith to *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee but me.* Again, 1 *Sam.* 10. 18. *Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I brought Israel out of Egypt, and delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and of them that oppressed you.* Verse 19. *And you have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of your adversities and tribulations; and ye have said unto him, nay, but set a King over us.* Again, 1 Sam. 12. 12. *And when you saw that Nahash the King of the Children of Ammon came against you, ye said unto me, nay, but a King shall reign over us, when the Lord your God was your King.* To these passages joyn *Gideon's* words, *Judges* 8. 23. When they offered the Kingdom hereditary to him and his Posterity, he replied, *I will not rule over you, neither shall my Son rule over you, The Lord shall rule over you.* These places prove clearly a *Theocratia*, God's ruling of this People by his substituted Deputies. When this extraordinary way, and peculiar to this People only, was to cease, and a King to be established over them like to the Kings of other Nations, it was most opportune and high time to de-

clare this Native inherent right of the People, in whom is this National and fancied underived Majesty, and to leave them by their right to transfer their right upon him whom they judged most fitting and able to be King. But here *Ne mu Lucilianum*, not one syllable for it, not the least insinuation: Nay, you have point blank the contrary, a virtual destructory of this imagined and conceited Right; as at large before we have expressed and cleared; for Scripture vindicateth to God, as proper and peculiar to himself, the Designation of the Person of *Saul*, and the collation and bestowing of Royal Sovereignty. It is worth your notice, that Scripture recordeth, that after he was designed and declared King, *The Spirit of God came upon him*: which without wronging the letter of the Text, may be interpreted of God's Grace enabling him for the charge. The very Heathen did acknowledge, that in Kings there was θεῖόν τι, something from above bestowed above the ordinary stream of Endowments incident to man, which how it may subsist with a derivation of all their Majesty and Power from the multitude, let them judge who have not made a Divorce betwixt themselves and sound Reason and Judgement.

By no means let us neglect to observe, that God when he designed *Saul* to be King, collated upon him Royalty, he left no other act to his People but to admit him, which was not left to their voluntary determination to admit or reject him at pleasure. Nor is that to be over-leap't, that God would not allow them by compact and contract to make their own conditions, to limit and enlarge their King at pleasure; but gave himself to the subject *jus Regis*, the Law of the King, to which the Subjects were to submit in

the hardeſt caſe. He preſcribed *Lex imperandi*, a Law and Rule to Kings to rule and reign by, *Deut.* 17. But at the admittance of *Saul*, he giveth *Legem parendi*, the Subject a Law of Obedience and Patience, 1 *Sam.* 8. which is ſo peremptory in the extremeſt acts of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, that no other Remedy is left but Prayers and Tears, Patience, and crying to the Lord in the day of Trouble and Oppreſſion. Of this by God's Grace more hereafter, §§. 3, 4, 5.

A fourth Argument againſt this popular Errour and Deceit is this: if all Sovereignty and Supreme Power were originally inherent in the People, and from thence derived to the King; then undoubtedly Democracie were the beſt of all Governments. The reaſon is pregnant, that ſpece and kind of Government, which cometh neareſt to its original, muſt be ſounder and more perfect: but Democracie, which is the Government of many, cometh nearer to the multitude than Ariſtocracie, where ſome few of the better ſort, or than Monarchy, where one hath the Supremacy and Government. The nearer to the Fountain the Stream runneth more pure and clear. This Argument cannot well be taken off, and it is a ſtrong Argument changing the terms in the aſſumption for Monarchy; it proveth the excellency of Monarchy above all Governments, becauſe it approacheth neareſt to the Government of God, and God himſelf who is the Author of all Government; as the Argument before is made, the Concluſion is moſt falſe; becauſe, howſoever all Writers of Politicks in many things concerning Policy, differ as much amongſt themſelves as Glocks, or our Sectaries, yet all unanimouſly accord and agree in this, that of all Govern-

ments Democracie and popular Government is the worst; and do prefer Aristocracie to it by many stages; which likewise enforceth our Argument for the excellency of Monarchy; for the farther you recede from Monarchy, as in Democracie, the worse the Government is; and the nearer you approach to it, as in Aristocracy, the Government is the better. Some have a nearer approach to one than many, and many are at a greater distance with one than some few; which things duely considered and rightly pressed, will bring home the Conclusion, that *Formalis & completa gubernandi ratio est in Monarchia*: the proper, specifick, formal, and complete essence of Government is in the Sovereignty of one. Review and consider all Politicians whom you will, they will grant, that *Suprema potestas est in indivisibili posita*, *Supremacy and Sovereignty is an indivisible and undivided Entity*; How can you share it then amongst more or many? Nay, this forceth them to make Aristocracie, which is the Government of more than one, and Democracie, which is of many; that they must be considered as *unum analogum*, one by analogy, not univocally and properly so; judge then of the force of our Argument.

For any reason I yet apprehend or can guess at, if Sovereignty were primitively fixed in a multitude, and from thence derived to any or many, I cannot judge but that Democracie is the onely spece of Government warranted by Divine Institution; and that all other kinds of Government are unlawful, and their Acts sinful; or if any should attempt to change Democracie into Monarchy, it were an high impiety: which things how they may be admitted, let our new State-Divines consider and declare. Sure I am Saint *Austin* was of the opinion, that a corrupted Demo-

nocracie, without ſin, might be changed into Monarchy; See him, *lib.* 1. *de liber. arbitr. c.* 6. where he ſaith, *Si depravatus populus rem privatam Reip. præferat atque habeat vænale ſuffragium; corruptuſque ab eis qui honores amant, regnum in ſe factioſis conſceleratiſque committat; nonne item recte ſi quis tunc extiterit vir bonus qui plurimum poſſit, adimat huic populo poteſtatem dandi honores, & in paucorum honorum vel etiam unius redigat arbitrium? Euod.* Et ita recte. Saint *Auſtin* and *Euodius* agree in this, that if they who bear Rule in Democracie do corrupt Juſtice, and put the Government into corrupt mens hands, and ſuch as are factious, a good powerful man upon ſuch an exigent, may mould the Government into an Ariſtocracie or Monarchy. Good Saint *Auſtin*, for all his Learning and Piety, knew not the Jeſuit and Puritans ground; that all Sovereignty and Supremacy, all Majeſty underived was in the multitude, and that in their Power it is to change the Government to what guiſe they will; he knew not that this was to rob the People of their native and proper Right, when one man ſhould reduce Democracie, without the conſent of the People, to Monarchy or Ariſtocracie; nor knew he that it was an unjuſt and Sacrilegious intruſion upon God's Right in the People to do it without their Act, their Conſent, their Compact. To this you may add another Teſtimony of that Father, which virtually implieth the ſame, you may read it, *lib.* 9. *de Civ. Dei, c.* 21. where, ſpeaking of the declination of the Government of *Rome* from the ſecond *Carthage* War, and the reſtoring of *Rome* to her glory by *Auguſtus* coming to the Empire, he ſaith, *Hoc toto tempore uſque ad Cæſarem Auguſtum, qui videtur non adhuc vel ipſorum opinione glorioſum, ſed contenti-*

oſum & exitioſum, & planè jam enervem ac languidam libertatem omnimodò extorſiſſe Romanis, & ad regale arbitrium revocaſſe cuncta, & quaſi morbidâ vetuſtate collapſum veluti inſtauraſſe ac renovaſſe Rempublicam. The Paſſage is very conſiderable. The purpoſe of the Holy Father is to take off that foul aſperſion which the Heathen put upon Chriſt and Chriſtian Religion, that all miſchief came into the World ſince they were heard of. He proveth by the *Roman* ſtory, that greater miſchief before was upon the *Romans*, and that from the ſecond *Carthaginian* War the *Roman* Grandeur was in its declination and decaying, and at and about the coming of Chriſt in the World was reſtored again to its Magnificence and Splendour, by the happy Monarchy and Empire of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: which happy change Saint *Auſtin* commends, he condemns it not: and ſo do the Heathen Writers: which the Father could never have done if he had been of the mind, that no man cometh rightly by Sovereignty but by derivation from the People. It is not only Saint *Auſtin*'s, but other holy Fathers obſervation, that God in his wiſe Providence diſpoſed ſo of the Government of the World, as to put the beſt and greateſt part of the World under the Monarchy of one, that thus he might facilitate the progreſs of the Goſpel throughout the World. It is foretold in Scripture, that Kings ſhall be the Nurſe-fathers of the Church, our Oppoſites canpot ſhew the like of Ariſtocracies and Democracies, nor this day do we ſee it, or in ancient ſtorie find it recorded. It is moſt like, *Fœlicitas temporalis*, Happineſs temporal, under *Auguſtus*, the ſweeteſt of Emperours, came into the World, with *Fœlicitas æterna* and *ſpiritualis*, with eternal happineſs, when our King and Saviour came into the World. Of this more *q.* 2. Our

Our fifth Argument to prove, that Sovereignty in a King is not from the Community or multitude, is this, If this Sovereignty be natively inherent in the Multitude, it muſt be proper to every individual of the Community; if it be ſo, and muſt be ſo according to their Tenet, which is enforced by that other as groundleſs and falſe State-maxim, which they hold and maintain, that *Quiſque naſcitur liber*, every one is born a Free-man in the Forreſt; then it will neceſſarily follow, that the Generation and Poſterity of thoſe who have firſt contracted with their elected King, are not bound to that covenant, but upon their Native Right and Liberty may ſtart aſide, appoint another King, and that without breach of covenant, or any juſt Title in the King of their Fathers to force or reduce them to his obedience: an excellent way deviſed to preſerve King and Kingdom in Peace and Safety. Might not the Poſterity of *Joſhua*, and the Elders living in his time, who contracted with the *Gibeonites* to incorporate them, although in a ſerving condition, have made void their Fore-fathers covenant? And if this be true, How cometh it to paſs that the Progeny of *Jonadab* did hold themſelves bound to keep the preſcript and ſtrict Rule of their Father? The *Rechabites*, it ſeemeth, had not learned this point of Native Liberty.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

That Sovereignty is not derived to the King from the People, communicativè, *by Communication, ſo that they may reſume it in ſome Caſes, is proved by reaſon.*

ALthough we would give to our Sectaries, (which we will never grant) that all Sovereignty in a King is derived from the people immediately; yet we deny, and with good reaſon, that it is not by Communication, ſo that they may at pleaſure, or upon ſome neceſſary exigent in certain caſes reſume it, ſo that *habitually* they retain it, and are not *totally* diveſted of it; but in ſome caſe of Defailance, *ſuppletivè* they may exerciſe it, and ſupply the Defects of Government in the King, *Erecting Tables, authorizing Parliaments, appointing cloſe Committees, making and ſeeling, ſubſcribing and ſwearing Covenants, &c.*

Their ground is, becauſe all Sovereignty is by voluntary Conſent and Compact derived from the People to the King. This we have ſufficiently diſproved: to ſtrengthen this, they equivocate in a Maxim, *Conſtituens conſtituto potior eſt*, the conſtituent is above the conſtituted in Dignity and Power. If they knew any thing in Law, or were ruled by Reaſon, they could know that there be two ſorts of Conſtitutions; 1. The one is, when *Conſtitutio ab initio eſt voluntatis, & ejus effectus perpetuò pendet à voluntate conſtituentis*; when the Conſtitution is voluntary at firſt flowing from the free

free elicite act of the Will, and whose Effect and Force dependeth ever from the Liberty and free Will of the Constituent; as when a King maketh a Viceroy or Judge *durante beneplacito*, enduring Pleasure; or when a man maketh a Legacy and leaveth so much to such a one after his death, he may make it void to morrow, if Death prevent him not, except he hath appended the last Codicil, as Lawyers speak; in such like things *Voluntas hominis est ambulatoria*, a man's Will is not denuded of it's Liberty to retile or change; the Will of man being, as Philosophers speak, *Domina sui actûs*, Mistress and Queen of all her elicite and commanded Acts. It is a ruled Case in Law, *Nulla obligatio consistere potest, quæ à voluntate promittentis statum accipit*: No Obligation can absolutely tye where all its Strength dependeth merely upon the free Will of him that promiseth. 2. The other Constitution is, *Quæ ab initio est voluntatis, postea verò effectum habet necessitatis*; which at the first is by the free Elect and commanded Act of the Will, but afterward is attended with an Effect of Necessity, that maketh it irrepealable, irrevocable: as when a man maketh over the Right of his proper Goods to another, this is at first a voluntary Action, but the Donor having denuded himself of *jus proprietatis*, of his entire Right, and the Donee hath *jus possessionis*, hath apprehended Possession, this act is firm and stable, whether the way of making over be *titulo lucrativo*, or *titulo oneroso*, freely done by gift, or for money, and as good in Exchange, or any other way lawful, this act is no ways revocable, although it be made to the Disadvantage of the Donor. If any should attempt to resume this again, it were an Act against common Equity; Scripture pleadeth for this Truth, *Psal.* 15. 4. He shall

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dwell in the Mountain of the Lord, *who sweareth to his hurt and changeth not.* *Ananias* and *Sapphira* might without Sin have kept their Goods which they consecrated to God and his Church, if they had not interposed the act of devoting or consecrating them; but this done, to detain but a part of it, (and it may be for some exigent case of Necessity they preconceived) it was high Sacriledge, and they payed dear for it, *Acts* 5. There can be no civil Commerce, no Truth or Faith in dealing, in bargaining, if you open this back door, than when a man hath contracted, covenanted to his Disadvantage, he may resume it, and put himself *in statu quo.* If it were granted that Royalty in a King were by Contract betwixt him and his People, and resumable by the People upon the Appearance of Disadvantage, it cannot stand but in all inferiour Contracts of less Concernment the like should hold.

Is there any act more freely done, than when a woman not subject to paternal Authority, of perfect Age, under no Guardian, maketh Chdice of an Husband, and as she fancyeth? And I pray you, may she afterward shake him off at Pleasure? God forbid. By *Moses* Law, we know the Husband for Jealousie or Discontent might have given to his Wife a Bill of Divorcement; that the Woman had the like Power we read it not. In Gods case which most nearly concerneth himself in the case of Idolatry, the Husband was bound to dilate, accuse, and witness against his Wife; the Father against the Children; but there is no Charge to the Wife to accuse or witness against the Husband, or the Children against the Father; a clear Evidence how God Almighty would have the Inferiour in Reverence, Duty, and Obedience, to carry towards

wards the Superiour, that if Idolatry againſt God otherwiſe could not be made appear, God would have no Remonſtrance this way. God chuſed rather to ſuffer in his own Cauſe, than that lawful Authority ſhould be wronged: *Deut.* 13. The tye betwixt King and People, Prince and Subject is greater, is ſtricter than any betwixt man and Wife, Father and Son.

If our Adverſaries will believe *Juriſts*, they were of a contrary Opinion, and did not imagine, that the People transferring all their Right upon the Prince, did habitually or in any caſe retain it or any part of it, that in caſe of male-adminiſtration, they might ſupply it, and in any Exigent reſume it, or make over the Right to whom they would, over-lording their Prince, but that they were totally and irrevocably inveſted with all power conceivable to be in the People. Although this Opinion hath not the Truth of all the Kings Right in it divinely enough, yet is it a ſafer Opinion than that of late days hath been taken up and maintained. *Ulpian* a renowned Juriſt, *L. 1. ad Sc. Tupil.* ſaith, *Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem: utpotè cum lege Regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata eſt, populus ei & in eum omne ſuum & imperium & poteſtatem conferat.* *Ulpian* knew no better, but that *The legiſlative Power was in the Prince, and that becauſe the King is entirely inveſted with all the Power and Empire was in the People.* It is probable, he reflecteth upon the *Democratical Government* which was before the *Empire*, and ſo determineth, that what Sovereignty was in the *Democracy*, was with its full Extent as entirely and properly in the Prince. *Ulpian* reſerveth no Power to the People, for he ſaith expreſly, *Populus ei & in eum omne ſuum Imperium & poteſtatem confert*; which ground laid, it is abſurd to ſay, that in any caſe

case, or upon any Exigent, the people or Community, diffusive, collective, or representative, can reestate themselves into that Sovereignty, so entirely irreversibly made over. *Ex ore duum & trium*: Take another witness (for in Law, *Singularis testis nullus*) and a great one too; *Bartolus ad L. Hoster. 24. F. de capt. & post.* saith, *Tertio modo indicitur bellum publicum, quando indicitur à populo Romano, vel ab Imperatore, in quem translata est omnis jurisdictio populi Romani.* *Bartolus* knew not any Power was reserved in any Case or Exigent to the People; and if you consider him well upon the place cited, the *Militia* and *Jura belli* belong to the Prince. To these two add *Seneca*, who knew no mixed government, but only three Species, Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy; *Epist. 4.* he writeth thus: *Interdum populus est quem timere debeamus, interdum si ea civitatis disciplina est, ut plurima per manum transigantur, gratiosi in eo timentur viri; interdum singuli, quibus potestas populi & in populum data est.* *Seneca* who knew not Monarchy to be from God immediately, knew so much, that coming from the People, the King was so invested with the *Power of the People*, and *Power over the People*, that the People were totally divested of that Power, and in no case no Exigent had any Power over or above the Prince.

If what is said be not sufficient, let us remember the Story of *Valentinian* the Emperour, when by the Army he was declared Emperour; they earnestly begged of him to joyn *Valens* his Brother with him in the Empire; His answer was, *at mihi ad imperandum eligendi in vestra situm erat potestate, O milites: at postquam me elegistis, quod petitis in meâ est arbitrio, non vestro. Vobis tanquam subditis competit parere, mihi quæ agenda sunt cogitare.* O Souldiers, before you did make choice

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of me to be Emperour, it was in your Power; but the Choice being made, that which you now desire is in my Power, not in yours. It is your part and Duty as Subjects to obey, it is in my Power to determine upon what is fit for the Government.

If all we have said cannot work upon our new Statists to forsake their Errour, we pray them to consider, whether or not this ground laid, will not authorize the Corporations and Shires, upon male-administration of the Trust committed to their Commissioners in the House of Commons, or upon Jealousies and Fears, to resume and make void that Trust committed to them, and warrant them in case of Defailance to do better for themselves and Country. Sure I am, *Buchanan* one of their greatest Authors holds, that if a Parliament determine in a matter of Law, it can establish nothing but a προβίλευμα, *a preparatory precognition*, and that the Influence of a legislative Power is not, till it be approved and admitted by the Community. The Observator fearing this Tenet of *Buchana*, may make void the Orders of the House, leaving here his Master, and averreth, *That the Right of the Gentry and Commonalty is entirely in the Knights and Burgesses of the House of Commons, and will have their Orders irrevocable.* A wonder it is that they are so favourable in their own case, and so unjust and unequal in the Kings case: for if it were granted, which is most false, that all Power in the King were by Trust devolved upon him from the People, what is the Reason of the Difference that he shall not have that Right as entirely, as irrevocable as the Commissioners of Counties and Corporations? Reason pleadeth more for this in the King than them, for otherwise neither Sovereignty nor the person of the Sovereign can be secured, nor any act of Govern-

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ment certain, but mutable at the pleaſure of an erring and inconſtant Multitude. If any will ſeriouſly conſider, they will find that what they take from the King they give to their Feoffees of Truſt, *to Tables, to Parliaments*. Theſe in caſe of Neceſſity have an arbitrary Power; the Prince in no caſe can have it, exerciſe it. Thoſe have the entire right of the Community devolved upon them, and the people are totally diveſted of their native Right; the King hath his only in a fiduciary way, ſome part is habitually reſerved, that in ſome Caſes the People may reſume it, may practiſe it. So in their Church it is not lawful to a Clergyman to meddle in ſecular Buſineſſes; Their Clergy (if they be worthy of name) may, do meddle in all Treaties of Peace, Councils of War, in Commiſſions for reverſing fundamental Laws of Church and State in other Kingdoms. This their practiſe is *Proteſtatio contra factum*, it giveth a Lye to their Profeſſion. I think verily in after ages it ſhall ſcarce be believed that amongſt Chriſtians, and ſuch as would be accounted the beſt of Chriſtians, ſuch Paradoxes could be maintained, and ſuch monſtrous Practiſes acted, with ſuch ſacrilegious robbing of Prince and Prieſt of their ſacred Right. It is high time for Prince and Prieſt to ſtrengthen one another, and neither of them to think that by making the other *à publici odii victima*, a Sacrifice to malignant Malice, to preſerve himſelf. It is high time for the People to conſider, how by ſuch Doctrine and Practiſes they are plunged in ſuch a bottomleſs Gulf of Miſeries, of Calamities, that none but *dextera excelſi*, the right hand of the Lord can reſcue, can deliver them: How an arbitrary, tyrannical, civil Power is put upon them, and eſtabliſhed in the wrong hand, that they dare not pretend to Liberty of Perſon,

or

or propriety of Goods: How ſuch a Tyrannical Antichriſtian Hierarchy of ſome few Patriarchs, Lords over their Conſciences, make them run into Rebellion, and kill both Body and Soul. If theſe things, theſe moſt fearful of all Judgments, cannot awake us, it is like we are given over to deſtruction, more for the Terrour and Example of others, than that we can expect to ſee the Glory and Mercy of God return again upon this Church and State. Lord of his mercy make us turn to him timely by Repentance, that he may turn to us in mercy, make his Face ſhine upon us, that we may be ſaved. To return to our purpoſe:

In fine, Let us ſtill give it to them, that Sovereignty is in a King by Derivation from the People, and the Conveyance is by Contract or Covenant. But then I demand, how can this Contract be made void? It muſt be made void *either by mutual conſent, or by a legal Sentence and Judgment.* That a Contract may be made void *mutuo contrahentium aſſenſu*, by a mutual accord and conſent of the Parties Contracters in Law it holds; the ground is, *Quibus modis contrahitur contractus iiſdem diſſolvitur*; and the main thing and binding force in a Contract is the conſent of both. The refuſing of one Party Contractor is not ſufficient to void the Contract. Neceſſarily then it is required, that both King and People conſent to make the Contract void: (whether a King may do this or not, you ſhall hear more in the following queſtions.) The People alone cannot do it. This contract as yet is not made void by Royal conſent; if it be, you muſt make it appear *authenticis Tabulis*, upon evident and written Records. I confeſs, e're I put you to theſe pains, I deſire you firſt to produce *Tabulas contractûs*, this

Contract, which in Law must be evident and faithful; and when you do it in any of his Majesties Kingdoms, you shall have me to plead for your pretended Right. Well then, I hope you will not say you have his Majesties Royal Assent; although good and wise men regrate, that by real deeds out of zeal to Peace, and more than fatherly indulgence, he hath indulged to your Favours, which lessen his Prerogative, and which without intrusion upon his Sacred Right you cannot enjoy, if Scripture be either the Law or Umpire to determine in this case. Seeing, I say, His Majesties consent to void this Contract cannot be alledged, or made appear; (and the Law determines, that *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio*, or *Quod non apparet, in jure non est*) you must have *a legal Sentence*. A Legal Sentence cannot be had without a *competent Judge*. Who is this Judge? For my part I know none but Almighty God, the King of Kings. If you say, that the Judge is the diffusive Body, or the Collective, or the representative (which I see not how it can be conceived without the Head the King, yet at this time I yield it to you in your own notion) and virtual Body; I oppose, that cannot be; are they not all Subjects? Are they not all under his Protection? Have they not all sworn, or should swear, Allegiance and Supremacy? How then can they be imagined in any other capacity than of a Subject? How in any other notion, relation, or consideration, but as the other Party Contractor in this imaginary, notional, and fancied Contract? How can it with Law, with Justice, with Reason subsist, that you shall be in your own Cause, in your own Case, in a matter of so high a Concernment, Judge, Witness, and Party? The highest that any as yet have gone, is to fancy a *coordinate Power with the Sovereignty of a King*, which in

in effect is a very bull, and is as much as to ſay, *Supreme and not Supreme*; *Sovereign and not Sovereign*; *King and no King*. I deny not but that it may be proved, if that your Practice may interpret your Power, that you have run farther, and reach higher in your Sovereignty than any King, any Monarch in *Europe*, except you ſpeak of the King of *Spain*'s Power over all his Dominions without *Europe*. Never any of them claimed more but *paternum Imperium*, but with grief we ſee this new Doctrine hath erected *Deſpoticum & herile Imperium*. I ſay, the moſt you have claimed to your repreſentative Body (and that maimed too) is a coordinate Power; which in Law, in Reaſon, runneth upon equal, upon coequal terms. Now in Law *Par in parem non habet Imperium*, an Equal cannot Lord or Judge over an Equal, much leſs an Inferiour may uſurp it above a Superiour. Amongſt many other reaſons why our Lord, *Joh.* 8. would not ſentence the Adultreſs that was taken, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, this is not an unprobable one, that although he knew her guilty, as God, and as Man, *gratiâ viſionis*, yet he would not act the Judge and Witneſs. *Omnis Chriſti actio noſtra inſtructio.* Learn of him to be meek and humble, nay, juſt too; and challenge not to be Judges, Accuſers, and Witneſſes in your own cauſe: Imperial Law, and Eccleſiaſtical, both condemn it: nay, the very Light of Nature made *Africanus* diſclaim to be againſt the Defendant, Judge, Accuſer, and Witneſs. The Caſuiſts, when they diſpute and reſolve the Caſe how a Judge ſhall proceed in Judgment, when to his private knowledge he knoweth contrary to that is like to be adduced, and the Judge tyed to determine *ſecundum allegata & probata*, that in ſuch a caſe he may (if another competent Judge may be found) *exuere perſonam publicam, perſonam Judicis*, and

witneſs for Truth, that Juſtice be not prejudiced. Fie for ſhame, that *Jeſuits*, *Romaniſts*, and *Caſuiſts*, althey hold many of our puritanical Principles, yet are not ſo impudent, as our *Puritans* and *Sectaries*.

To haſten to more Proofs of the Truth we maintain, give me leave to tell you, that I think, or fancy at leaſt, that this Opinion that Sovereignty is ſeated in the Community, every individual having its ſhare, which by Derivation from all and every one, is concentred in the Perſon of the King, is not unlike that Dream of *Democritus* and other Philoſophers, who fancyed to themſelves, that the whole *Univerſe* was compoſed and diverſified *by a caſual Concourſe*, of what, I know not, fantaſtical and imaginary *Atomes*.

CHAP. X.

Wherein the Truth of our Tenet is by more reaſons aſſerted, the contrary Error diſproved, and the Abſurdities in the Sectaries paradox involved, are diſcovered.

THis Tenet, that a King hath his Sovereign Power, *communicativè*, not *privativè*, from the people, that he is ſo inveſted with it, that the People have it *habitually*, *ſuppletively*, *and may reſume it* in ſome exigent caſes, giveth nothing to the King but only an empty and void Title, which is not only reſumable at peoples Pleaſure, but ſo coarctated and bounded with Limits and Conditions of their own deviſing, that *ſimul & ſemel*, at the ſame Inſtant and Moment

Moment he both receiveth Empire and Sovereignty, and layeth down the Power to rule and determine in matters which concern either the private or publick good. At the ſame Inſtant (without prejudice or derogating from the honour of Royalty, be it ſpoken) a King becometh a *Monſter*, an *Hermaphrodite*, compoſed of a *Sovereign and a Subordinate*, *of a King and a Subject*.

Again, by this they hold, I ſee not how they can difference a King from a Magiſtrate, which with all underſtanding and knowing Politicians, are diſtinguiſhed by their different ſpecifick Entity and Being. Nay, a Magiſtrate is ſtated into a ſafer and better Condition than a King, for the Magiſtrate is to exerciſe Judgment and Juriſdiction *by known Statute and cuſtom Law*; the King is cenſurable, depoſable at the Pleaſure of the Multitude, as they fancy him to have tranſgreſſed. The Magiſtrate cannot be cenſured, be puniſhed, but by Law; the meaneſt, the baſeſt of Subjects, may arreſt, cite, convene the King before the *underived Majeſty of the Community*, he may be judged by the arbitrary Law that is in the Cloſet of their Hearts, and that not only for real Miſdemeanour, for real male-adminiſtration, but upon fanſied, apprehended Fears and Jealouſies, and theſe not evident by any apparent Act or Attempt, but intended. If this be not to ſeat themſelves upon the Tribunal of God, who hath reſerved as peculiar to himſelf, to judge and diſcover mens Hearts and Intentions, I know not what elſe can be it, except it be that thoſe Seraphical Doctors make ſo bold with Almighty God to unfold the Secrets of Predeſtination, and to deſine who are the Elect, who the Reprobate. Any man that hath nothing left but common Senſe will chuſe rather to live

the moſt private and obſcure Life, than to expoſe and oppoſe himſelf with an idle nominal Title of Honour, to the moſt corrupt and corrupted Judgments and Affections of an ignorant, injuſt, and indiſcreet Multitude. I pray you, when neither the true Grandeur and Splendour of Majeſty, nor the ſacred Power of Empire, nor the higheſt Pitch of Reverence and Obedience due to ſo ſacred a Function, and ſo ſacred a perſon can ſhelter and protect him, who can be ſo demented, as not only to embrace an empty Title, *Ixions* cloud, but run the hazzard of total Ruine and perpetual Diſgrace?

I know what will be anſwered, good Kings are in no Danger; this Terrour is only a Terrour, a Curb to bad Kings. The contrary this day appears, and ordinarily the beſt of Kings are moſt in danger. Who knoweth not how ambitious, factious, and diſcontented Spirits, are moſt ingenious and ſolicite, where no real and juſt Challenge can be made againſt a good King, by ſpecious and ſpurious Pretexts to incenſe and inflame with Fury the erring and deceived Multitude, who loath things preſent and at hand, and promiſe to themſelves fooliſhly greater and better things by a Change. Not unlike to a man ſick of a burning and raging Fever, imagineth this or that Bed he lyeth in is the cauſe of his Pain; change him to another Bed, in his Fancy he expects to recover Health, yet is diſappointed, and putteth himſelf in a worſe Condition. It is eaſie for ſubtle and crafty Spirits to make people apprehend ſo, becauſe of the preſent ſenſe of ſome little Preſſures or Incommodities in the Government: Which is unavoidable here, becauſe we are not to expect to enjoy a *Plato*'s *Republick*, or a *More*'s *Utopia*, an *Eutopia* indeed, that were Heaven upon Earth: that

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is, there is no Government no where ſo compleatly perfect, that it wanteth altogether its Incommodities, and none ſo imperfect which hath not with it it's own Commodities. I may ſay of the moſt perfect and beſt ordered Government, what the Fathers ſaid againſt the *Pelagians*, *Omnis noſtra perfectio imperfecta perfectio*; there is none ſo happy that hath not with the greateſt Commodities ſome Incommodities, and ſo we may ſay with the *Comick*, *aut hæc cum illis habenda, aut illa cum iſtis admittenda*; We muſt reſolve to endure ſome Inconveniencies in the beſt Government, rather than diſturb and deſtroy Government, and loſe the excellent and ſweet Fruits we have by it. Hence they preſs upon the weaker and leſs Underſtanding, but more numerous People, the preſent ſeen and felt Inconveniences, and poſſeſs them with Fears and Jealouſies of more and greater enſuing dangers (*Fraus in parvis*, ſaith *Livie*, *ſibi fidem præſtruit, ut cum operæ-precium eſt magnâ cum mercede fallat*) that they ought not to lie under theſe Burdens, and to be nakedly expoſed to more imminent Dangers, leſt unprovided they be taken up and deſtroyed. When theſe Male-contents have laid this Foundation, then they raiſe the work by liberal undertaking, and like the Devil their Father promiſe to the gulled people, *Matth.* 4. *Omnia hæc tibi dabo*: to deliver them from all their Preſſures, incumbent Burthens, and imminent fanſied Dangers. The People by their big words and promiſes conceive great Hopes, cry up thoſe *Achitophels*, thoſe *Abſalons*, thoſe *Shebaes*, as the only Worthies, upon whom ſhould be devolved the whole Truſt and Care of State and Kingdom, of Reformation of State, of Church. To entertain theſe falſe Hopes, which are but falſe Conceptions, *Molaas*, they perſonate ſuch as had no private

ends, were only publick Souls, reſolved to ſpend themſelves, nay offer themſelves a Sacrifice for the People; they ſpeak as ſmooth as *Abſalon.* and will be thought to deſire nothing but Piety and Purity in the Church, and Juſtice, Peace, Liberty, and plenty in the State.

When the multitnde are thus bewitched, then they advance the Work, they deſire the Aſſiſtance of the numerous and popular part to bring this glorious Reformation to effect; pretending the Glory of God, the Purity of Religion, the Liberty of the Perſons, and the Propriety of the Goods of the Subjects. The poor people follow *Abſalon* in his Treaſon, uſurping the Crown, pretending he is about to offer a great Sacrifice to God, but intended to pull the Crown from his Fathers head.

Nemo repentè fuit turpiſſimus, when they have thus gained the popular Affection, and are Maſters of their Hearts and Lives; They ſtrike not firſt at Royalty, but expreſs their Zeal and Courage in accuſing the great Stateſ-men, of purpoſe to leave the good Prince naked and deſtitute of all Good Counſel, and by fierce accuſing of them, and charging them with all the Evils they fancy in the Government, to flow from the Influence their Counſels and Courſes have upon Sovereignty, they prove themſelves innocent to the World. They hope, having ſet them by their places, they ſhall make place for themſelves, to make King and Government at their own Devotion: and before they fail in this, another Government they will erect. They ſet on the furious multitude againſt men, not only innocent, but well deſerving, making the people believe that they are the Authors and Abettors of all Evil and Miſchief, whether real or fancyed, preſent; and that

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theſe are the only Rubs ſtand up betwixt them and an happy Government. If they can make no relevant Endictment, no legal Proof againſt them, before ſome of them be not gone, new Laws, new Preſidents ſhall be made never to be a leading caſe hereafter; and others ſhall ſuffer firſt as *Papiſtical*, but if that appear not, then as *Prælatical*, but if this cannot be charged upon them, (a high Crime truly to be accounted a maintainer of that Order, Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed to preſerve his Church) they are Incendiaries *in State*, *Malignants in Church*, diſaffected to the true Proteſtant (which what it is but negatively we could never yet know, for ten of them cannot agree upon a poſitive Faith) Religion. And ſuch, ſay the *Achitophels* of this time, are the cloſe Enemies of Church, of State, of Religion, &c. and ſo much the more dangerous becauſe they carry their malignant Purpoſes, Deſigns, and Courſes ſo cloſely, that no Proofs can be made againſt them.

The People thus engaged, thus by Fury enraged, cry out, crucifie them, crucifie them: are made guilty, and run ſo far upon the ſcore, as they cannot be taken off again.

If it fall forth ſo, that *theſe Worthies* miſs their ends, and others ſucceed in the places of the diſplaced; then they cry out, the malignant Party prevaileth ſtill. The Pilots are changed, not the Tempeſt. There is no Remedy, Power muſt do it, the Kingdom muſt put it ſelf in a Poſture of Defence; *Salus Populi*, the Safety of all, of Religion, of Liberty, of Property, and what is dear to us, calleth for it; for it is *extremus neceſſitatis caſus*, it hath come to the laſt Puſh. But I pray you who are the competent Judges to determine, that our caſe is ſuch? None elſe but thoſe Worthies, thoſe

thoſe who are animated with a publick Soul, who are dead to private ends, have no more life, but what is to be ſpent for the Publick, for the ſafety of it; who have already, as good Patriots, layed their Lives, their Honours, their Fortunes at the ſtake. There muſt then be a Power in ſome hands (God knoweth the worſt, and that have leaſt right) to command men, raiſe Arms, ſeize all Ammunition, command what Supplies of money is neceſſary, for *ſo great, ſo glorious a Reformation*, to rectifie what is amiſs, to right what is disjoynted in Church and State, to repell the dangers incumbent and imminent, otherwiſe they are not ſufficiently enabled, for the great Work, *the preſervation of the King and Kingdom, Church and State, Law and Liberty*, and what elſe is really or imaginably dear to us.

In end an *Arbitrary Government*, that terrour of all popular terrours, is introduced, is practiſed; true *Sovereignty* and *Royalty* is wreſted from the true Sovereign, and the thing we fear moſt, is placed in a wrong, a worſe, an unlawful hand. The Effects are more bitter, the Charge is infinitely above all we or our Predeceſſors did complain of in many paſt Ages; the preſſures are intended and multiplied, and total ruine to the Kingdom is threatned: onely this difference is obſervable, that where before with a leſs bountiful Duty, Religion and Royalty, Juſtice and Peace might have been maintained, nothing could be obtained to ſtrengthen Sovereignty; but now we are become ſo laviſh, ſo prodigal, we give twenty, ten, five parts of our Goods, our Revenues, ſpare not our Jewels, our Ear-rings, to make up a molten Calf; ſo apt, ſo prone is our corrupt Nature to a wicked courſe. And whereas before we were like *Rachel*, in the ſtreets, in our

our ſhops, crying, we are undone with Subſidies, Monopolies, *&c.* ſaying with *Micah*, we are robbed of our Silver, which either we made or were to make our god: now in preſſures voluntarily undergone, which infinitely tranſcend all preſſures before ſeen or felt, we are as ſpeechleſs as the unworthy Servant in the Goſpel. In this we are not unlike to little children, who, when they fall of themſelves, and hurt themſelves pitifully, cry not at all, but if any touch them, and they fall, wth little or no hurt, they cry out bitterly.

You ſee then how eaſie it is upon this ground maintained by our Sectaries, our Adverſaries, to diſquiet State and Kingdom, to unking Kings at pleaſure. And that it is ſo, would to God the Lecture is read to us this time in the deplorable ſtate of this Kingdom, did not with much grief and ſorrow make it appear to the leaſt-ſeeing Eye, and did not cry it aloud in the deafeſt Ear.

That the beſt of Kings, moſt pious and juſt in themſelves, and of ſweeteſt temper, are liable to theſe miſchiefs, this black day of ours confirmeth it; by-gone Stories evidence it. Was there ever a meeker, a milder Governour upon Earth, than *Moſes the meekeſt of men*, ſenſible of no injury done againſt himſelf, zealous of wrongs done to God, and quick enough when *Aaron* was wronged? Was there ever a greater Treaſon hatched and ſet on foot againſt any than him? *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with two hundred and fifty Princes of the Congregation, lead the People to Sedition, then to Rebellion, telling him in his Face, he and the Tribe of *Levi* took too much upon them. God, to vindicate Sacred Sovereignty, did interpoſe by a miraculous way, never heard of before, that the

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Heads are ſwallowed up living, in Body and Soul, into Hell; a fearful Example, the firſt Rebellion we read of, and ſo exemplarily puniſhed, that *Optatus* Biſhop of *Milevis*, writing againſt *Parmenian*, obſerveth, that the like is not to be found, to be read again in Scripture. To *Moſes* add *David*, not onely a man, but a King according to God's heart, and one as apt and inclinable to pardon offences committed againſt his Perſon, that the like you find not, except it be the Example we have this day before our Eyes; yet what Treaſons were intended, acted, and attempted againſt him, Scripture doth plentifully record. *Zedekiah* was not one of the worſt Kings of *Judah*, yet was he ſo over-ruled, or over-awed rather by his Lords and Councellours, that he confeſſeth of himſelf, *The King was not he that could withſtand them*, that he was forced to deliver up *Jeremiah*, the Servant and Prophet of God, into the hands of their Power and Malice. Many more may be adduced. *Auguſtus*, the ſweeteſt of *Heathen* and *Roman* Emperours, *Titus*, the *love* and *delight* of mankind, were toſſed and beaten with the ſame Tempeſts. It is infallibly then certain, that the beſt of Kings cannot be ſecured, where this Tenet of our Adverſaries is maintained, eſpecially when Divines do preach it as a Truth revealed from Heaven, to aver that Rebellion is obedience; nay, a neceſſary Duty which God commandeth; and Juriſts and Lawyers hold, it is conſonant to Juſtice, the eſtabliſhed and practiſed Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land; the Divine ſecureth their Conſciences, and the Juriſt their Eſtates and Perſons, that they are put out of all fear of Evil here, or in the Life to come. They will find at laſt, that thoſe blind Guides, with their People miſled, will fall in the ditch. God have mercy upon the

the poor multitude who are deceived; the Deceivers have need of great Repentance before they can have mercy with God, or ſhould find it with the King.

What a fearful thing it is to put Princes, and the beſt of Princes, moſt uſually under this Tyranny, that the People may lord over them, needeth no other confirmation, but to conſider a multitude in its nature, which is either the cruelleſt or tameſt of Beaſts. *Quod non audent ſinguli, audent univerſi.* *Livie* telleth us, that this is the natural temper and conſtitution of a multitude; *Ut ſerviat humiliter, aut dominetur ſuperbè. Libertatem quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modicè, nec habere ſciunt. Et non fermè deſunt irarum miniſtri indulgentes, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad ſanguinem & cædes irritant.* We need not Engliſh it, the Expreſſion is full in what we have ſaid.

In ſum, by theſe new-deviſed State-principles, no Kingdom, no State, can be long in quiet, in peace; no Kings, no Governours can be ſecured; by theſe Maxims we may change Kings and Governours as often as Moons, learn the Policy of the *Goths*, and practiſe it too, that if we be not ſucceſsful in War, or have not a plentiful Year, or be troubled and infeſted with any Tempeſt more than ordinary, all may be laid upon the misfortune, demerit, or miſ-government of the King, and he, *Jonas*-like, thrown into the Sea, to appeaſe the Tempeſt, another enthroned, to live and reign no longer than we pleaſe. A goodly Tenure for a King.

Another Argument I bring againſt this Paradox, which is this: by this Principle, if it hold good, all Title to a Kingdom by *right of Conqueſt* is made void; for this cannot be ſaid to be derived from the Commu-

munity *by contract and voluntary consent*. Notwithstanding Scripture is clear and full for the lawful Title of *a Sovereign by Conquest*. Otherwise we must deny *David*'s Title over *Aram*, and other Neighbour conterraneous Kingdoms to *Israel*. God, by his Prophet *Jeremy*, commanded submission, subjection, and obedience to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and enjoyned them to pray for him, and for Peace to his Government; I hope none will deny his Right to be just, and that by no other Title than Conquest. Our Saviour did submit to *Cæsar*'s Government over the *Jews*, paid Tribute, and by his *Jus Regale*, his Royal Prerogative of Coin, proved *Cæsar*'s just Title, that he silenced the *Jews*, as much at that time miscarried, that by their Native Liberty, and God's special Favour, they were not to submit to any stranger, as we are now adayes upon our fancied Conceits. The Jesuits will not deny that Conquest by War is *Justus modus acquirendi Imperium*, a right way to come by a Crown, if the War be justly waged, and grounded upon a good cause: for proof, see *Bellarmin. de translat. Imper.* and *Suarez*, in his Book, which we have often cited in this little Treatise.

It is easie to bring a great many more Arguments to destroy this erroneous Tenet, pernicious to mankind it self; onely because we are weary of it, give me leave in the Close to shew you, that it is *morbus complicatus*; a Disease, a Distemper made up of the confluence of many together; and that it hath involved within, or adherent to, and coherent with it, a great many Absurdities, contrary to Truth in Sacred Scripture revealed, to sound Reason and Policy. I shall onely point at them, and leave the enlarging of them to the judicious Reader.

1. First,

1. First, it is abſurd to ſay and maintain in true Philoſophy, that *the Community* is *primum ſubjectum*, the firſt Seat and Subject in which Sovereignty is immediately fixed. How can it be ſaid ſo, ſeeing in them it was never found, never actuated, never exerciſed? *Vana eſt potentia quæ nunquam reducitur in actum.*

2. Next, this Principle preſuppoſeth the moſt excellent of Creatures, Men, to be like *Cadmus* off-ſpring, *de terrâ nati*, ſprung out of the Earth; *Juvenes aquilone creati*; or which is worſe, in origine, like to the moſt imperfect of living Creatures, *Animalia de putredine orta*; Creatures coming from Corruption it ſelf: which Paradoxes how well they ſute with the Excellency of humane Condition, and which is more, with the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of God in the Creation of all: and laſtly, how conſonant to ſacred Truth in Scripture revealed: if theſe be well conſidered, then I am hopeful our new Statiſts will forſake their Errour.

3. Thirdly, this Tenet of our Sectaries preſuppoſeth that all men coming into the World, are *Jure* or *privilegio naturæ*, by the Right and Priviledge of Nature *originally born equal, independent one from another, without deſparity or Difference one from another.* This is contradictory to the word of God, that teacheth God did fix Government in *Adam*, before the Woman was made, or Children begotten by him. Is not every one that cometh into the World begotten of a Father? Is he not thus by the Law of God and Nature to ſubmit and ſubject himſelf in Reverence and Obedience to his Father? Is he not then ſo far from having *original Power inherent in himſelf*, that he hath not his own *Original being in the Capacity of Nature*, but from

from his Father? How then can he be freed *from Subjection to* his Father? And if his Father be ſubject to another, is he not by the ſame Law ſubject to his Father's Superiour? Who can make this Subordination void, except he will ranverſe the Ordinance of God and Nature? Where then is the Truth of this deceiving Maxim which worketh ſo much miſchief, *Quiſque naſcitur liber*, every man is born a free-man in the Forreſt? Are they not ſubordinate, ſubject to their pre-exiſtent Father, and to his Superiour too, if he have any? Is not the Female Sex by the Ordinance of God and Nature inferiour and ſubordinate to the male? Doth not Nature teach, that the Wife by the Law of Nature is ſubject to the Husband; If you will believe *Ariſtotle* in his Politicks, he telleth you that a man of weak Underſtanding is ſubject to him who is more intelligent and prudent, and (if I forget not) that he is *naturâ ſervus*.

4. Fourthly, this ground preſuppoſeth *Anarchy*, to be *de facto* pre-exiſtent, really, and actually before Order and Government. Chriſtians muſt believe, that as God created all things *in numero, pondere, & menſurâ*, in a compleat Perfection of all things, every Creature having its own intrinſecal Weight and Worth, not only in it's own due Proportion and meaſure, but in a meaſure orderly diſpoſed for it's Accord and Being, with the Univerſe; and muſt believe accordingly that he hath diſpoſed of all things in that Order which eſtabliſheth an unrepealable Government, by which τὸ πᾶν, the whole Univerſe, and every ſpace and individual in the Univerſe is preſerved and continued in it's happy natural Being. Who then can be ſo ſtupid to think that God Almighty ſends man in the World deſtitute of this Order and Govern-

ment

ment, which is neceſſary for the happy Being of the Abridgment of the World, for whom it was made in a ſecondary reſpect? If the whole world without this Order could not but return to a confuſed *Chaos* and Maſs, and from thence to an Annihilation, what other can be the Condition of Mankind without order eſtabliſhed to preſerve it? See *Chryſoſtom*'s Teſtimony upon *Rom.* 13. cited above. If they will ſpeak philoſophically, they muſt confeſs *Habitus eſt naturâ prior privatione*, the Habit in nature is preſuppoſed to be exiſtent before the Privation; How come we then from our new-ſtate-Philoſophers to hear, that Anarchy was in Nature, was in the world before Government?

5. Fifthly, by the ſame Ground, by Conſequence it will as neceſſarily follow, that *Jus paternum & jus maritale*, the lawful Authority of a Father over his Children, and a Husband over his Wife, are derived from the Children and Wife, and that Children and Wife in ſome caſes may reſume their Power derived from them, and their native Liberty. If any aver ſo, he is *Flagris dignus*, to be cudgelled, not to be anſwered.

6. Sixthly, this Tenet if it be not blaſphemous, it is certainly ſacrilegious; for to ſay that Power is radically, originally, fundamentally inherent in the Community, or as the obſervator ſaith, that in the people is *an underived Majeſty*, robbeth God and Chriſt of his Glory. Scripture declareth them to be the immediate Authors of all Sovereignty, Glory, and Majeſty, as we proved above. Doth not Scripture expreſs the immenſe Sovereignty of God and Chriſt over the World and Church, by the *Compellation of King?* If you will have Kings then to be the *Derivatives of the People*, take heed you make not God and Chriſt the

Derivatives of Derivatives, which any pious mind will be loth to think.

7. Seventhly, when the King's Right is made to be ſuch, that the ſame *Sovereign Power is habitually retained* in the People, and the Power in ſome caſes is *reſumable*, How can you make the King's Title complete? Law is againſt it, when the Donor is *dans & retinens*, as Juriſts ſpeak, *giving a right, yet retaining it*; he maketh not over a full and entire Right: nor can the Donee lay juſt claim to it. It is a maxim without Exception among them, *Nulla obligatio conſiſtere poteſt quæ à voluntate promittentis ſtatum accipit*; the Donor is not tyed to make his Bond and Gift good, if at pleaſure he may reſume it, as we ſpoke before.

8. Laſtly, leaving many Abſurdities more untouched, in the laſt place we place it, which in our Judgment moveth us moſt to abhor it, that you which believe this Tenet, muſt either give us new Bibles, or find out new Commentaries to the Bible; for what you ſay is right down oppoſite, and contradictory to all the Bibles we have as yet ſeen: our Bibles ſay, *Dixi dii eſtis*, I have ſaid, (that is, God himſelf) ye are Gods; *& filii Excelſi omnes*, and all of you are Children of the moſt high: your Bibles (or ſome as authentick as ours) muſt ſay, *Dixìmus dii eſtis, & filii terræ omnes*; we the People have ſaid, ye are Gods, and all of you ſprung from us, from the Earth. We may ſay no more with Scripture, *Dominus dat & aufert regna*; the Lord giveth and changeth Crowns and Kingdoms: but it is the People that do it. It muſt no more be thought upon, αἱ γὰρ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι, it muſt be ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ; that the Powers that be are ordained of God; nay, they are ordained of the People. *David* was far miſtaken, who ſaid,

Pow-

Power belongeth unto the Lord. For Christ's *Potestas data de super*, saying, that Power is from above, and by Donation from above, we must have it changed unto a *Potestas data de subter*, that all Power is given from below: infinite more of this kind may be adduced. Let me intreat our Brethren to consider, how sacrilegious a thing it is to rob God of his Glory; who hath said, *My Glory I will not give to another*; how tender he is of his divine Prerogative, to be *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, not only by his Power over-ruling them, but also effective, endowing them with Royalty from above; how dishonourable a thing it is to place it in so wrong a hand, so base a prime Subject; how they disgrace Kings and Soveraignty, referring them to so base an origine; how they put them in so tickliſh and lubrick Condition, that better being any thing than a King; how by this mean they secure neither their Persons nor Functions, nor either can be truly or appellatively sacred; how they open a door to all disquiet in State, in Church, to all Sedition and Rebellion; how they lead People on a way destructory to themselves, nay to humane Society, and consequently any Being at all; how, finally, they serve the Prince of Disorder, and run head-long and head-strong to Perdition; from which, good Lord, deliver both them and us.

CHAP. XI.

Scripture by Examples teacheth us, that Kings of Peoples making, have not had God's Bleſſing, but have ruinated their Makers.

IF any will look upon Scripture with ordinary Obſervation and Judgment, it will appear, that when people have preſumed by themſelves to ſet up a King of their own, neither he nor they have been happy in that work. There is reaſon enough for it; how can a Bleſſing be expected, when and where God and Chriſt are robbed of their Right, and the People preſumptuouſly uſurp, and ſacrilegiouſly intrude upon them.

The firſt King the people of *Iſrael* had, after that they were formed into a politick Body, is *Moſes*; who *Deut.* 33. is termed *King of Jeſhurun.* To ſpeak truly, the Government then and till *Saul*'s days was Θεοκρατία, God retaining the Government in his own hands, and actuating it by his Deputies and Vice-Roy's. The People had no hand in making him King. He was far from them when God ſent him to be King over *Iſrael.* That his Right was juſt, his Government ſucceſsful, none will deny. The next named King is *Abimelech*, the baſe Son of *Gideon*, and as baſely created King too. *Iſrael* did offer an hereditary Title of the Crown to *Gideon*, after that he had vindicated them from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of the *Midianites.* He did refuſe it; he knew that was not the right way of purchaſe, nor Gods appointed time come: *Judg.* 8. 22. After his Death the Baſtard is made King, the firſt King we read of in Scripture, who was the Creature of the People: *Judg.* 9. Con-

Conſider how this Work is hatched, perfected, and what is the end of it. He ſets the work on foot by his alliance the men of *Sichem*, to do for their own Bloud and Brood. He uſeth an Argument that was ſtrong enough in thoſe dayes, better that he one and alone ſhould reign over them, than the ſeventy Sons of *Jerubbaal*. It ſeemeth that the World was not then ſo much out of love with Monarchy, nor doated ſo much upon Ariſtocracy, as we do now in this declining Age. A ſpecial mean to enable *Abimelech* for the Crown, and to effect this unlawful Royalty, they agree to enrich him with Sacrilege, by ſpoiling their God's Temple, and taking out of it threeſcore and ten pieces of Silver. To make all ſure, a Covenant is made, it is ſworn too; They were ſo much in love with this new Covenant, that they called their God *Baal Berith*, the Lord of the Covenant; They will have God to own the Covenant, or then they Idoled the Covenant ſo much, that they would renounce God, if he would not be *Baal Berith, the God of the Covenant.*

What followeth upon all this? *Abimelech* enriched by Sacriledge, ſtrengthened by his Alliance the *Sichemites*, they bound to him, not onely by the Bonds of Nature, but by a tye of a Sacred Covenant, a Vow interpoſed, all *Iſrael* over-awed come to his ſide; and the firſt Act of their Power and goodneſs is Murther, they murther the ſeventy lawful Sons of *Jerubbaal*; the engaged in miſchief knew there was no ſafety, but to take away the right Stock, root and branch. Yet God miraculouſly preſerved *Jotham*, not onely to denounce Gods vengeance againſt them both, the men of *Sichem* and *Abimelech*, the contrivers of this miſchievous Plot, but to ſee it executed. You

ſee then, the firſt popular King (I mean of the Peoples making) beginneth his work (I mean his purchaſe of the Crown) with Sacriledge, a Covenant and cruel Murther, and innocent ſhedding of bloud.

Look upon the Succeſs. He is made, he is conſtituted King, with an uniform, an univerſal conſent; an univerſal and uniform Conſent is no ſure Argument, that the courſe ſo eſtabliſhed is warrantable, and approved by Almighty God. Look upon more yet, *Abimelech* becometh ſtrong, flouriſheth, reigned over *Iſrael* three years; *Judg.* 9. 22. well near Antichriſts time of endurance, he Kings it royally, ſucceſsfully. Judge not then of a courſe by a ſpeedy, a univerſal, a ſucceſsful ſucceſs, to conclude, it is Gods work, and marvellous in our eyes. It is hard to work great Works but with great Time, our Nature is averſe from that, the Devil and the World do contribute their Wiſdom and Power to impede a good Work. It is not ſo in bad courſes; *Moſes* could ſcarce diſcipline the People of *Iſrael* in the ſpace of forty years, in the School of the Wilderneſs, to obey God, but in forty dayes they were able enough to erect Idolatry and practiſe it. The Apoſtle Saint *Paul* wondereth that the *Galatians* were ſo quickly turned from the truth of the Goſpel. But to reclaim them from their Errours, was as toilſome and longſome pains and travels, as a woman hath to bring forth a child.

Although Vengeance be delayed, it will come at laſt: it cometh with leaden feet, but hath iron hands. *Jotham*'s curſe (who for ought we read, was the onely man durſt ſpeak againſt the courſe) will come at laſt. The Spirit of God telleth us, that after the three years are paſt, there cometh out a fire from *Abimelech* and

and devoureth *Siehem*, and a fire cometh out from *Sichem* and deſtroyeth *Abimelech*. The firſt ſtroke of Vengeance is upon the firſt Covenanters and Aſſociates: By the means and ſtrength of the *Sichemites*, *Abimelech* is made King over *Iſrael*. The firſt *diviſive motion* is there; the Text ſaith, *God ſent an evil ſpirit betwixt the men of* Sichem *and* Abimelech, *and the men of* Sichem *dealt treacherouſly with him*: v. 23. The firſt who gave him the Kingdom, ſware and covenanted with him, are the firſt Traytors, or rather the ſcourge of God to begin his Miſchief.

But how, I pray you, goeth this work on? you have Covenant after Covenant. The firſt Oath was unlawful, now treacherouſly they ſware another Oath againſt him. What is the Solemnity? They keep a ſolemn Feſtival; (Religion muſt ever be a ſtalking horſe) They go to the Houſe of their God, they ſeal a new Covenant, a new Aſſociation; they not onely unking him, but alſo excommunicate him too: *v.* 27. No Covenants, no Aſſociations, ſeal them, ſtrengthen them with Oaths as many as you will, with Sacraments too, making *Sacramenta pietatis vincula iniquitatis*, the ſeals of Piety, the Bonds of Iniquity, they will neither bind ſure, nor make unlawful pacts or compacts laſting. Read and conſider *Pſal.* 11. *Pſal.* 83.

The ſtory is worthy your looking on. Come on then. *Zabul*, *Abimelech*'s Governour at *Sichem* is overawed, he muſt comply with the ſecond Covenant. *Abimelech* advanceth with his Forces towards *Sichem*, killeth them that ſallied out, mans the Gates, enters the City, kills all in the City, except ſuch as flee to the Tower: they eſcape not, all of them are conſumed with fire. You ſee then how the firſt Authors ſmart for it.

When he hath done Vengeance upon them, he blocks up *Thebez*; God having done Vengeance by him upon the Faction, he taketh Vengeance upon *Abimelech*, kills him by the hand of a Woman, a diſhonourable end, for a King, a Souldier, and that by a piece of a Milſtone which cruſhed his Skull. To ſhun Ignominy, he calls to his Armour-bearer to kill him by his Sword, that it be not ſaid hereafter, that he died by the hand of a Woman.

This is the firſt King we read of in Scripture that was the Creature of the People: How he atchieved it, how he managed it, and what end both he and they had, is enough to make us fall out of love with popular Kings, the Donatives of the People.

To this ſame purpoſe ſome bring the Example of *Jeroboam*, who hold that *Jeroboam* was King only by Gods Permiſſion, and not by his Commiſſion over the ten Tribes; and that to puniſh *Salomon* in his Poſterity for his Uncleanneſs and Idolatry. Many things might be ſaid *Pro* and *Con*; we purpoſe not to diſpute the point accurately. The Reaſons which incline ſome learned men to hold this Opinion, amongſt others, are theſe: That there is no anointing beſtowed on *Jeroboam* at his Entry to the Kingdom. The ſymbolical Ceremony of his Entry is expreſſed, by renting of a Garment in twelve pieces; he taketh ten of them to himſelf, Scripture mentioneth not the giving of them. The People grieved, pitch upon *Jeroboam*; either by him to get redreſs of their Grievances, or otherwiſe, if that be refuſed, to aſſume him to be their King.

Conſider how the Change is effected: There is a ſpecious ſhew made of a glorious Reformation, of eaſing the Subjects of many great Preſſures, with which they

they were overburthened in *Solomon*'s Reign: by heavy Impoſitions laid upon them to build the Temple, *Solomon*'s Palaces, and to entertain the Magnificence of his Court, never ſo rich as in *Solomon*'s Reign, and never more grudging complaining. Theſe Pretences were no leſs ſpecious and real, than the ſpecious and ſpurious Pretences of our glorious Reformers, and zealous Patriots to day: great Promiſes are made, great Hopes of better things are conceived, but behold the Iſſue.

God in his ſecret but juſt Providence left *Rhehoboam* to the power of bad Counſellors, he refuſeth Redreſs of Grievances, the ten Tribes revolt, enthrone *Jeroboam* and made him King. To bring all to a wiſhed end, the People and their new King begin at Religion. Religion muſt ever be pretended, whatever be the work, whatever be the Intention. How is Religion entreated? By King and People it is ſubordinated to Policy. Religion is made as Hangings for the Houſe. New Calves, new Altars, new Feaſts are erected and inſtituted: with a ſpecious Proteſtation and Profeſſion, that God may be more frequently, more fervently ſerved; and the People with more eaſe to attend, to frequent the Service. To this purpoſe, the Calves are erected at *Dan* and *Bethel*. The way of ſerving God before eſtabliſhed was too too troubleſome; the true cauſe was, the King feared if Gods Ordinance were kept, and the ten Tribes ſhould go to *Jeruſalem* to keep the ſolemn Feaſts, do God ſervice according to his Preſcript; true Religion preſerved would reduce the ten Tribes, to their due Obedience to the houſe of *David*. New devices in State, in Government, neceſſitate the Authors and Abettors to new devices in Religion.

That

That this work may have no Rubbs, the old Priests must be gone; the Tribe of *Levi* must be rooted out Root and Branch: It cannot be, but the old Levites will cross the new established Government. The basest of the people, Tinkers, Coblers, Coachmen, Mechanicks, &c. become *Jeroboam*'s and his new Subjects Priests.

This done, he and they take as much Authority over and above *their God*, as before they did over and above *their King*: A Calf must be their God.

What is the Success? Here is a thorow Reformation in Church and State, all is unanimously agreed upon by King and People. Consider the Consequents: They make to themselves a King to remedy their Grievances; the King maketh them cast-aways. They banish from them the true Levites, they place in their stead the Scum and Dross of the vulgar. By him and his Successors all the erroneous Religions amongst their Neighbours are admitted and received; any Religion is allowed except the only true one. But what? Is not the King by this made glorious at home, and terrible abroad? No: no such thing. He is made the Reproach of all Kings; his *Motto* for ever is, *Jeroboam that made* Israel *sin.* This is all *his Excellency* we read of in Scripture, this is the Horn of his Exaltation. How fare the People? free-born people, under a lawful and just King of their own, setting up a King of themselves, wrought and effected at last their own, their Kings, their States utter Extirpation, and of free-born Subjects become the Slaves of strange Kings and Kingdoms.

This Story duely considered, is able to rectifie the Errours of this time, if mens minds be not fore-stalled with damnable Prejudice. It layeth open to us, that

Kings

Kings when they are Peoples Donatives are not Succeſsful; and diſcovereth, how popular Reformations (ſo much now in this Diſtempered Age cryed up) are not Gods Ordinance, and moſt unhappy in the end: howſoever for a time, when God is to puniſh a Nation, they may have ſome ſeeming Succeſs, and ſome laſting Durance; God in his Wiſdom giving way to them to puniſh our Sins, and to try our Conſtancy in his Truth. Both the one and the other Story prove, that theſe Courſes when they prevail are the worſt of Judgments. If you joyn them, and be pleaſed to parallel them with our times, you will find a full ὑποτύπωσις, remonſtrance and reſemblance with us in many fit Reſemblances; my Prayer to God is to give us all Repentance, and that ſpeedily, leſt the like or worſe befall us, when we ſhall have neither Opportunity nor Place, nor Power to help it, and too late acknowledge our Errour.

All Divines do rightly hold, that *Omnis Chriſti actio noſtra inſtructio*, never was any thing acted by Chriſt, which hath not in it ſomething to inſtruct us in Chriſtian Knowledge and Duty. That Chriſt was truly a King born, we proved it before; The wiſe men did him royal Homage while he was in his ſwadling-cloaths; he entered *Jeruſalem* in royal Pomp and Magnificence; When his Diſciples honoured him by the name of King, he did not refuſe it; when the *Jews* were offended at it, he told them it was not juſt, but alſo neceſſary; and if all ſhould fail in that Duty, the Stones would proclaim him King, and do him Homage; he avouched it before *Pilate*, when he was looking Death in the Face; by a ſpecial Direction of Gods Providence it was written upon the Croſs; *The Altar where he offered that propitiatory and expiatory Sacri-*

Sacrifice; His Grave was ſealed as Kings Tombs uſe to be: from the Cradle to his Croſs, from his Mothers Womb, till he is buried, in all the times of his Life, his Royalty and Kingdom is manifeſted. Notwithſtanding of all, when the people would have made him a King, he diſclaimed it, he would have none of it. When by commiſſion and truſt he might have been Arbiter, umpire betwixt two brethren differing about the moitie of their inheritance, he refuſed it. Many reaſons for it, but without all controverſie this is one, to teach all Chriſtians, that Sovereignty cannot be derived from the people, from the Communitie: He would have none of that dignity from them, he choſe rather to want it, than to have it from a wrong hand.

It is evident by what we have ſaid, that ſacred Truth, as revealed to us in Scripture, as underſtood by the Fathers and Martyrs of the Primitive Church, and ſound Reaſon, doth plead for the truth we maintain, That *Sovereignty* and *Royalty* in a King, is by immediate dependency, derivation, and collation, from God and Chriſt, who are Kings of Kings, and Lords of Lords; and it is not onely a ſimple Errour, but pernicious, ſacrilegious, and derogatory to the Honour of God and Chriſt, to make it to be derived and transferred from the underived Majeſty of the People; and that in ſuch a meaſure, by ſuch a tenor, that they have it in what portion, what proportion they will beſtow it, with no more certainty and ſecurity than *to be Tenants at will*, to be enthroned, dethroned, kinged, unkinged at their pleaſure. Having ſaid enough (although but little in regard of what may be ſaid) to eſtabliſh the poſitive part, κατασκευαστικῶς, we come now to take off ἀνασκευαστικῶς, their pretended grounds and principles, upon which they build this

this their *Babel.* And theſe onely in this queſtion, which have neareſt alliance and contingency with this firſt Queſtion; the reſt we will take off in diſcuſſing and debating the ſubſequent Queſtions, as they are moſt proper and homogeneous to them, and every one in its proper place.

CHAP. XII.

Wherein three grounds of our Adverſaries are taken off and diſproved. As, 1. *That the interpoſing of an Humane Act in the conſtitution of a King, doth not hinder the Sovereignty to be immediately from* God. 2. *Next, the inconſequence of that Sophiſm, a private man may make away his Perſonal Liberty, and enſlave himſelf to another,* Ergò, *a People or multitude may do the like, and inveſt a King with Sovereignty, is detected.* 3. *The true ſenſe of* Quiſque naſcitur liber *is given, and the falſe Gloſs of the Adverſaries is diſcovered.*

THE Jeſuit is ſo learned, that he knoweth and acknowledgeth that an Humane Act may be interpoſed, and the Effect wrought, produced, may be the immediate Work of God; the ignorance of the Sectary, and weak Chriſtians ſtumble at it; for nothing is more frequent in the mouthes of the vulgar and leſs knowing ſort; where hath God manifeſted from Heaven, that ſuch or ſuch a one is King?

King? and the Obſervator himſelf conceiveth the ſenſe of our Tenet, *that the King is immediately of Gods appointment and conſtitution*, cannot in any other Notion be verified, except we can ſhew a particular Revelation for every King inveſted with Sovereignty by a Revelation from Heaven. It feareth me he will take it ill, if we marſhal him with the vulgar and leſs-knowing ſort; and yet without Diſparagement to his other Abilities, we muſt conceive him to be a ſmall Intelligent in Divinity, if he conceive that no Power can be in man by Gods immediate working, except he can ſhew him a Revelation from Heaven, by the Miniſtery of Angels, or ſome extraordinary Prophet.

In ſtating the Queſtion, we cleared this point ſufficiently to an underſtanding man; yet give me leave for the better Satisfaction of the weaker *coctam reponere cramben*, to reſume and repeat ſome of that we have ſaid, with ſome Additions and Illuſtrations.

It is not to be denied but in the ordinary Conſtitution of Kings, ſome humane act interveneth, and is interpoſed; as Election, Succeſſion, Conqueſt, &c. yet this may very well ſubſiſt, with the immediate Collation of royal Power from God: to make this plain, conſider that a thing is ſaid to be immediately from God two ways. Firſt, when it is done by God *ſine quocunque ſigno creato, & ſine quacunque diſpoſitione præveniente*; that no created Sign or previous Diſpoſition interveneth or precedeth the work done; Thus nothing is immediately ſaid to be from God, but what is by immediate Manifeſtation from himſelf, or by the extraordinary Miniſtery of Angel or Prophet: as *Moſes* was made Captain over *Iſrael*, *Saul* and *David* were made Kings of *Iſrael*. 2. Next, when God worketh or effecteth the work, yet ſo as ſome Diſpoſition

ſition, ſign or created act is previous and antecedent to, or coherent with the work effected. By Baptiſm the baptized obtaineth Remiſſion of Sins and Renovation of Nature; This Effect is immediately wrought by God himſelf: The reaſon is evident, becauſe Aſperſion of, or Immerſion in water of their own nature cannot take away the Stain and Guilt of Sin, nor ſtate the baptized in the ſtate of Adoption and Regeneration. The School expreſſeth it barbarouſly, yet pregnantly enough; *Deus concurrit ad*, God is concurrent and operateth with his Ordinance, and by his Influence ſupervenient of his Grace and Power, effecteth that which Baptiſm in its nature abſtractly cannot produce: So as remiſſion of ſin, and regeneration *conſequitur ad Baptiſmum*, followeth with, and is conjoined with Baptiſm. The School giveth us the way to diſcern it when it is ſo; and that is whenſoever *Signum creatum*, the interpoſed act or previous diſpoſition hath *no natural contingency with the effect*, the work wrought muſt be produced by ſome ſupervenient extrinſecal more eminent agent, which is God. Schoolmen do confeſs that the Sacraments do not confer grace *Vi naturali, Phyſicâ & inhærente*, by their natural, intrinſecal, and inherent Power; but *Vi morali, ſupernaturali, & ſuperveniente extrinſecâ*, but by ſome extrinſecal ſupervenient Power.

The like you may obſerve in ſacred Orders; it is confeſſed amongſt all underſtanding and ſound Divines, that by Admiſſion into ſacred Orders the admitted receiveth a ſupernatural Power in ſupernatural things, for ſupernatural ends. This is not done without the interpoſing of an humane Act, the Impoſition of the Biſhops hands, and yet it is moſt certain, this is not done by the Biſhops act, it is the Power of God

God concurring and cooperating with his own Ordinance.

In moral things you may ſee the like, a man marrying a woman, becoming her head and Lord, there precedeth this Power and Right, a created humane Act, the voluntary Conſent of the Woman; yet it cannot be ſaid, that her Conſent endoweth or inveſteth the man with this marital Right; it floweth from, and followeth immediately the inviolable Ordinance of Almighty God: and this tye is ſo ſtrict, ſo perpetual by the ſame Ordinance, that it cannot be made void but by God himſelf; *No man can put aſunder, whom God hath joyned together.*

This holds in the Conſtitutions of Kings. Some humane act, as Election, Succeſſion, or Conqueſt is interpoſed, but none of them hath any *natural Contingency* with Sovereignty and Majeſty, that by their intrinſecal Power they can collate it, produce it, work it, or effect it. The Collation muſt neceſſarily then be immediately from God; and the ſame way as in ſacred Orders. This was the Senſe of the ancient Church, who ordinarily inſtitute a Parallel, betwixt Prince and Prieſt; that as the Prieſt hath his ſacred power ſpiritual immediately from God, ſo the Prince hath his ſacred Sovereign temporal power independently from any other, and ſolely dependent from God. Hear them ſpeak it in their own words: *Hoſius* ſpoke ſo to *Conſtantius* the Emperour; σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνεχείρησεν, ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς Βασιλείας ἐπίστευσε· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ Θεῷ· οὕτω φοβήθητι, μὴ καὶ σὺ τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἕλκων ὑπεύθυνος ἐγκλήματι μεγάλῳ γένῃ. *Vide Athanaſ. epiſt. ad Solit. vit. agent.* The Senſe

Senſe is, *Hoſius* acknowledgeth that Kings and Emperours have Βασιλειαν, Sovereignty and Royalty, as independently, as immediately from God, as Biſhops and Prieſts have the truſt which is peculiar to them *ex vi ordinis*: and averreth, that it is no leſs Intruſion upon God ſurreptitiouſly to invade the Kings Right, his Prerogative, than for any not called to the Miniſtery, to intrude upon the ſacred Function and Charge of Biſhop or Prieſt. The Paſſage is excellent: 1. Kings are Kings, *quà* Kings *reduplicativè*, immediately from God, and by his Donation of Power. 2. As Prieſts have a Power incommunicable to any beſides, ſo Kings have their Sovereignty incommunicable to Subjects, or any elſe. 3. That to rob, or ſurreptitiouſly to ſteal from Kings their ſacred Prerogative, is ſacrilegious Uſurpation, preſumptuous Intruſion upon God himſelf; no leſs, if no more, than for a Lay-man to intrude upon the holy Function and Charge of Biſhop or Prieſt. Neither *Athanaſius* nor *Hoſius*, nor any Father elſe underſtood, but that Princes had their Power as immediately from God as Church-men in ſacred Orders.

To the *Greek* Fathers joyn the *Latin*. Saint *Auſtin de Civit. Dei, lib.* 4. *cap.* 33. ſaith, *Solus verus Deus dat regna terrena bonis & malis, &c. neque hoc temere, neque fortunâ. Sed pro rerum ordine ac tempore, occulto nobis, notiſſimo ſibi.* It is the only true God, none elſe, man nor Angel, that giveth Kingdoms: and that not only to good, but to bad Kings; And this is not done caſually by hap-hazzard, but in Wiſdom conform to the Exigency of the time, of men living in the time. How it cometh that ſometimes bad men are Kings, ſometimes good men, it is of his Wiſdom, in a ſecret Diſpenſation moſt evidently known to himſelf,

ſelf, hid to us; but for all this, always juſt. I wiſh our Sectaries would hear and believe this Lecture of Saint *Auſtin*'s; certain I am, the holy and learned Father knew they came not to their Crowns, but by ſome interpoſed act of Election, Succeſſion, Conqueſt, *&c.* notwithſtanding, he will have all their Sovereignty, Majeſty and Power ſolely from God.

Symmachus the Pope writing to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, ſpeaketh thus; *Tu defer Deo in nobis, & nos deferemus Deo in te*: which words formally and explicitly imply, that Royalty in Kings is to be reverenced and obeyed, as in Gods immediate Vicegerents upon Earth, as God is to be obeyed in Church-men his immediate Vicegerents in the work, and ſupernatural Acts and Effects of the Goſpel. To this Patriarch add the Suffrage of another great one, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *lib.* 11. *in Joh. cap* 13. where amongſt other things to this purpoſe he ſaith, *Et homines quidam à Deo accipiunt ut aliis poſſint dominari.*

Review again that excellent Paſſage of the Council of *Paris*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. *Conſtat ergo, quia non actum, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humanæ, ſed virtute imo occulto judicio diſpenſationis divinæ regimen confertur terrenum.* It is in the opinion of theſe Fathers in this Council aſſembled, that no act humane whatſoever, which is interpoſed in the Conſtitution of a King, maketh him King, but only *virtus, & occultum judicium diſpenſationis divinæ*, the Power, the ſecret and incomprehenſible Judgment of God, in his unſearchable Diſpenſation.

Review the Paſſage: 1 *Sam.* 12. *v.* 11. *And the Lord ſent Jerubbaal and Bedan, and Jephtah, and Samuel, &c.* Here you ſee the ſending of *Jephtah* to be Judge, is no leſs given to God. than the ſending of *Gideon*

Gideon and *Samuel*, whoſe calling was by extraordinary Revelation. Compare this Paſſage with *Judges* 11. There you will find that *Jephtah* came to be Judge, by a Covenant made betwixt him and the *Gileadites*: Here you have an interpoſed Act, and a great one, that ſeemeth to ſerve much for your purpoſe; you have a Covenant, a Compact. Yet notwithſtanding the Lord to ſhew this Act, this Compact, this Covenant contributed nothing to make him Judge; the Lord himſelf in authorizing him as Judge, vindicateth it no leſs to himſelf, than when extraordinarily he authorized *Gideon* and *Samuel*: 1. *Sam.* 12. *v.* 11. a place, an Argument unanſwerable: which bringeth home two Concluſions; the one, that the Authority and Power is from God; the other, that whatſoever act intervening, if it were a Covenant, it contributeth nothing to Authority, cannot weaken it, cannot repeal it.

By Scripture then and Antiquity it is clear, that the interpoſed act humane whatſoever it be, whether Election, Succeſſion, Conqueſt, or any other lawful way, doth not collate the Power, but deſign or declare the perſon, and letteth not the Power to be of immediate Collation from Almighty God; as when the Church deſigneth or declareth a man for a ſacred Function, it is God only who beſtoweth the ſupernatural Power, Faculty, and Ability. Or it is in ſome caſe like to that, when our King ſendeth the honourable Order of the Garter to a Duke or Prince abroad by the hand of a Gentleman, the Gentleman intimateth it to the perſon honoured, but the beſtowing or collating of the honour is from the power of the King, the ſole and proper Fountain of that Honour.

Let this ſuffice to remove their firſt ſcruple: we come next to examine that which both Jeſuit and Puritan make much of, that is, A private and individual Perſon, may make away his own native and proper Liberty, and enſlave himſelf to a Lord and Maſter; from hence they conclude, *Ergo*, a Community or Multitude may ſurrender their own native Liberty to one or more to rule over them: See *Bellarmine* preſſing this Argument, *lib. de Laicis, cap. 6.* and *Suarez, lib. 3. defenſ. Doctr. Orthod. cont. Sect. Anglic.* If we would grant all this, yet this much we will gain, that as a ſingular Perſon, when he hath made away his Liberty to another, he cannot reſume it, no, although he hath made his bargain in a hard condition, diſadvantageous to himſelf; then although we give that their conſequence is good, which we will never grant, it will by as neceſſary conſequence follow, that when the People have deveſted themſelves of that Power naturally inherent in them, and inveſted one or more with it, they cannot reſume it, no, not though they have made it to their own diſadvantage.

It may be they will tell us, *Argumentum à ſimili in diſſimili non concludit*, that an Argument built upon a Similitude concludeth not in the point of Diſſimilitude. We will yield to them this with both our hands, and upon the ſame ground we rejoyn, that there is a wide diſparity and difference betwixt the two. 1. Firſt, becauſe it is certain, *Nemo naſcitur naturâ ſervus*, None by Nature cometh in the World in the condition of a Slave. Nature in this is equally Indulgent to all. But on the other ſide, it is as true, *Nemo naſcitur liber ab Imperio*, No man is born in that condition to be free from Government, but with his natural Being cometh into the World ſubject to ſome.

Every

Every man is born ſubject to his Father, of whom immediately he hath his Exiſtence in Nature, and if his Father be the ſubject of another, he is born a Subject to his Father's Superiour. 2. Next, there is another great difference; Every man by Nature hath an immunity and liberty from *deſpotical and herile Empire*, and in this may ſay, *Poſſum facere de meo quod volo*, I have this privilege by the Law of God and Nature, that I am enſlaved to none: and conſequently, without his own voluntary act, making away this *native and natural liberty*, he cannot be deveſted of it; and in his bargain and covenant, may more and leſs enſlave himſelf: but on the other ſide, God and Nature have laid a neceſſity upon all men coming into the World *ſubeſſe imperio*, to be ſubject to Government. Again, becauſe this Government, this Empire, this Sovereignty cannot protect us ſufficiently, to make us enjoy the ſweet fruits of happy Government, *Peace*, *Righteouſneſs*, *Plenty*, *Godlineſs and Honeſty*, except it be *entirely* endowed with *Sovereign* Power to act its Duties, preſerve it ſelf, protect us: Almighty God, as he inveſteth the Sovereign with entire Sovereignty, ſo hath he ſet the bounds of it, defined it; otherwiſe, ſuch is the corruption and natural repugnancy of every one to it, that forthwith it ſhould be rent in pieces.

It is accidental to any to render himſelf a Slave; it is occaſioned either by Force, as when one is taken by an Enemy, he is *Mancipium*, *Servus*: or otherwiſe ſome extreme neceſſity and indigency forceth one to enſlave himſelf, to ſell his Liberty, to redeem him from Debt, Death, or any ignominious and intolerable condition, to ſtate himſelf in a more tolerable one. In brief, it is ſome ſupervenient neceſſity that forceth man to

make away his native and natural Liberty *à ſervitute:* but *ſubeſſe imperio*, to ſubmit and ſubject to lawful Government, congruous to the condition of man, and neceſſary and convenient for the happy Being of man, is natural, is neceſſary by the inviolable Ordinance of God and Nature.

This anſwer to their ſecond Sophiſm cleareth the ſenſe of their Maxim, ſo much cryed up, and ſo much abuſed, *Quiſque naſcitur liber*, every one is born a free man; that we need not inſiſt much upon it: yet to make the general ſenſe of the Maxim appear, and to diſcover their adulterate and baſtard ſenſe; we ſay, it is moſt true, that *Quiſque naſcitur liber à ſervitute*, Every man is born a free man from ſlavery; but *Nullus naſcitur liber ab imperio*, none is born exempted from the ſubjection of lawful Government, without a ſubordination and ſubjection to a Superiour: Chriſt, as man, was not exempted from this: It is recorded in Scripture, *Luke* 11. 51. καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς. He did ſubject himſelf to *Joſeph*, his putative Father, and *Mary* his true Mother: the word in the original is the ſame which the Apoſtle uſeth, *Rom.* 13. 1. commanding obedience and ſubjection to Higher Powers.

It were very fit our oppoſites would conſider what Power the Father had over the Children, by the Law of God and Nature; that to redeem himſelf from Debt, from any diſtreſſed ſtate and condition, he might have enſlaved his Children begotten of his Body. If this Power was not by the right of Nature, by the warrant of God, I can ſee no other, for it could not be by a mutual and voluntary act of Father and Children.

To

To ſhut up all in few words, give me leave to put you in mind, that the Stoicks obſerve three Notions of *ſervitus*, of Service and Subjection. 1. The one is, when a man, contrary to native and natural Liberty, is made a Slave to a Lord or Maſter: this they call *ſervitutem ἐν κλήσει*, when a man hath power to command, uſe, diſpoſe another man's Perſon, as his other Goods, at pleaſure: for this cauſe the Scripture ſtandeth not to call a Servant *his Maſter's Money*. 2. The other is, when a man's Perſon is confined or committed, that he is deprived of living at liberty as he liſts; as Criminals or Debtors; this kind of ſervitude they call *ἕξιν αὐτοπραγίας*, when the liberty of going where we will, or doing what is lawful at pleaſure, is taken from us. 3. The third is, a Servitude, as they call it, *ἐν ὑποτάξει*, conſiſting in Subordination: in the firſt ſenſe, every man is born free: in the ſecond ſenſe, ſome onely by miſdemeanour or miſgovernment are reſtrained from the liberties of free Subjects: In the third ſenſe, no man is born free, but ſubject to his Father, and to his Father's Father, his Father's Sovereign; ſo that all are born tyed to Obeiſance and Duty of Allegiance; and ſeeing Chriſt fulfilled ſo all righteouſneſs, that he ſubjected and ſubmitted himſelf to his Parents, and to *Cæſar* too, we muſt deny to be Chriſtians, if we deny that we are born *under the tye of Allegiance*. Of theſe three enough, we haſte to conſider ſome more of their Popular Maxims and Sophiſms.

CHAP. XIII.

The Maxim, Quod efficit tale, eſt magis tale; *or* Propter quod unumquodque tale, ipſum magis tale; *or* Conſtituens conſtituto potior, *is examined.*

Roſſæus and *Brutus*, and after them the *Obſervator* have abuſed this Maxim infinitely to the great abuſe and wronging of Sovereignty, and to advance the Subject above the King, the diſorderly rout of the multitude above the Lord's anointed. The *Obſervator* enunciates it thus, *Quod efficit tale eſt magis tale*, that which maketh any thing ſuch or ſuch, is in it ſelf much more ſuch or ſuch; he aſſumes, but the People make the King, give him all the Power and Majeſty he hath: *Ergo*, the people are above the King, *&c.* *Ariſtotle* pronounceth the maxim thus, *Propter quod unumquodque eſt tale illud ipſum eſt magis tale.* *Roſſæus*, *Brutus*, *Bouchier*, and others give us it thus, *Conſtituens conſtituto potior*, the Conſtituent is more excellent than the conſtituted: but the People are Conſtituents of Royalty: *Ergo*, *&c.* Howſoever they differ in the Expreſſion, they agree in the Senſe: let us examine it.

It were fitter to reſerve this to our fourth Queſtion, but ſeeing the *Obſervator* maketh it his firſt Ground, we reſolve to ſhew the weakneſs of it here. We premiſe this, although we would grant *their major*, *their Maxim*, in the greateſt and moſt vaſt Latitude of their Conception, the Argument concludes not againſt us; for the Aſſumption is as falſe as Falſhood it ſelf: we have

have proved that the people in no notion imaginable, whether diffuſively or collectively, or repreſentatively taken, are either the Efficients, or Conſtituents, or Donors, or Authors of Sovereignty or Sovereigns: we might therefore without hurt to the Cauſe we maintain, grant *their Major, their Maxim.* Yet that we may undeceive the ſimpler ſort, we will a little ſcan the Truth and proper Senſe of *the maxim and major.*

It is no leſs truly than uſually ſpoken, *Qui verſatur generalibus, verſatur doloſè:* there is no readier a way to deceive the ignorant and little knowing people than by abuſing general Maxims, which are current, extending their Force farther than they can reach. If Commons, and almoſt all, even of better place and underſtanding, were not too violently zealous for, and impatient of Intruſion upon, or Violation of their ſuppoſed Rights and Liberties, and were not by the Corruption of Nature too too apt and facile to entertain Suggeſtions which are plauſible to their Fancy and Humour; and withal were not wanting to themſelves in Moderation, they could neither truſt nor magnifie ſo much ſuch ſpecious, deluding, and deceiving Sophiſms, nor would they ſo madly and cloſely adhere to their Maſters and Teachers of ſuch Doctrines, as to be inflamed with Fury, to become mad in Impiety and Rebellion, with ſuch Impetuoſity, that they ceaſe not, till they become their own Inſtruments, to ruine themſelves totally, and to bring upon themſelves the imaginary and groundleſs Evils that they moſt fear from others.

Philoſophy teacheth us, that all ſuch general Maxims muſt be bounded and limited with their own true Limitations and Qualifications, otherwiſe they conclude

clude not neceſſarily, firmly. I learned of *Ariſtotle* in the School, that this *maxim*, *Propter quod unumquodque eſt tale, illud ipſum eſt magis tale*: requireth neceſſarily, before it bring home the Concluſion, two Conditions. 1. The t'one is, *Ut utrique inſit*, that what you are to conclude, be both of them in the efficient and effect. 2. The t'other is, *Ut recipiat majus & minus*, that that is really in both, and predicated of both, have ſuch a Latitude, that it hath a Capacity of more and leſs. Without theſe Limitations the Maxim will conclude too much, which in *right Logick* is the equivalent of that, to conclude nothing.

Seeing we intend a popular way, that the ſhalloweſt may underſtand it, let us prove what we ſay by Inſtances to the contrary, by examples to the contrary. It is againſt Senſe and Experience to conclude, This maketh ſuch a thing ſuch, *Ergo*, it ſelf is much more ſuch: for by the ſame way I reaſon, What maketh any thing drunk, that is much more drunk: but Wine maketh a man drunk: *Ergo*, Wine is much more drunk. This concludes not, the reaſon is, becauſe a man may be drunk, but Drunkenneſs is neither inherent in Wine, nor accident to Wine. This is taken off then by that Limitation, *Utrique non ineſt*. Again, *Scintilla ignis ab ictu ſilicis*, a little Spark of Fire from a Flint-ſtone falling into a Magazine of Powder, putteth the whole Magazine into a Fire, and that the Town or Caſtle; will it follow hence, *Ergo*, that little Spark of Fire from the Flint is a greater Fire than when a whole City is a Fire? I know to this may be anſwered, a greater Fire it is when the Caſtle is in Fire, but no more Fire; the Difference being only in *degrees of Extenſion*, not *of Intenſion*, as Philoſophers ſpeak; next, that the ſcintil from the Flint-ſtone is

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magis tale, more ſo, than the City inflamed, or the Caſtle incenſed, becauſe it is ſo *effectivè & formaliter*, both formally in it ſelf, and effectively the cauſe of the other; the other ſet on fire by it, is only *formaliter*, formally ſo; becauſe this is not ſo eaſily intelligible by every ordinary Reader, I ſpeak more plain.

The Parliament cannot like theſe *Maxims* of the *Obſervators*, and if they ſee and judge right, they muſt make an Order againſt them, and this eſpecially; for by this Ground it will follow inevitably and neceſſarily, that the Counties and Corporations of *England* may make void all their Commiſſions given to the Knights and Burgeſſes of the houſe of Commons, and ſend others in their place. Nay, more will follow, that they cannot make orders and Laws, but that the Counties and Corporations may make much more, undo what they do, repeal what they eſtabliſh, eſtabliſh and enact the contrary. Frame the Argument; The Conſtituent is better and higher in place and dignity than the conſtituted; but the Counties and Corporations are the Conſtituents of the Knights of Shires, and Burgeſſes in the Houſe of Commons; *Ergo*, they may void their Commiſſions; *Ergo*, they may change the Commiſſioners, ſend others in their place; *Ergo*, they may repeal their Orders, eſtabliſh other Laws contrary and contradictory to theirs, *&c.* and many more Abſurdities may be inferred from hence. This made *Buchanan* ingeniouſly maintain, that Orders and Laws in Parliament were only προβουλεύματα, *Precognitions*, till the whole People gave their Conſent, and had their Influence *authoritativè*, upon the Statutes and Acts of Parliament. By this you may know where he put the *Legiſlative Power*, in the Community; and this is with more ſhew of reaſon than the *Obſervator's* Tenet, who holdeth

holdeth that the *Legiſlative Power* is in the Parliament; and yet *Buchanan* is more juſtifiable for this reaſon; becauſe, where Majeſty is, there is *Legiſlative Power*, but according to the *Obſervator*'s mind, in the People is the *underived Majeſty*; let him then come home to the Scotiſh Tenet, and make it an Article of their new Covenant, or new Creed, (if they will) that the *Legiſlative Power* is in the People, and the Parliaments Orders and Statutes are only *preparatory precognitions*: I know the *Obſervator* thinks to ſalve all this, that the whole Power of the Gentry and Commons is entirely transferred from the *collective* Body to the *repreſentative*, the *Parliament*. To this we anſwer two things: 1. The firſt is, ye and your Brother-aſſiſtants the *Scots* are not of one mind, for in the beginning of the Scottiſh Troubles, when the Subjects there were preferring Petitions, by their Declarations and Proteſtations, they put all the Power in the collective Body, and kept their diſtinct Tables. 2. Next, ſpeak ingeniouſly and candidly, *Obſervator*, ſhew us the reaſon of the Difference of the Diſparity, why the whole entire Power of the Community (if any they have) ſhould not be *totally* and *entirely* derived from the People to the King, when they deveſt themſelves of their underived Majeſty, and inveſt the King with it, no leſs than the whole entire Power of the whole Kingdom is devolved upon the two Houſes, and that irrevocably too, to hold in the King, as in your Knights and Burgeſſes: you are not able to ſhew it, but what with one hand you take unjuſtly from the King, with another, but a wrong hand, you aſcribe to the Parliament. It is like in times ſucceeding and after-ages our wiſe Kings will learn to know what is *their Power, Place and Prerogative*, by that the Parliament hath aſſumed to them, but

but we are hopeful they will never exerciſe it with ſuch Cruelty and Tyranny. I many times think upon it, that as the extravagant Ambition and Uſurpation of the Pope of *Rome*, robbing Kings of their ſacred Right, and aſſuming to himſelf ſuch ſuperlative Tranſcendent Power for himſelf and his See, both in Spirituals and Temporals, hath wakened Chriſtian Kings to conſider better of their ſacred Prerogative; and by what he unlawfully and antichriſtianly aſſumed to himſelf, *in temporalibus*, to know what Truſt God Almighty hath given to his Vicegerents, his Kings; ſo I am hopeful, if God hath mercy reſerved for theſe Kingdoms and Church, right Bounds and Limits will be ſet to Subjects, which will produce happier and ſweeter Fruits of Government, than we ſee or feel from theſe *corrival, co-equal, co-ordinate, fanſied Powers*; and Sovereignty and Royalty be better rooted, which God of his Mercy grant for the good of his Church, the happy eſtate of the Kingdom, and honour and right of our King.

If what is ſaid be not enough to ſhew the Weakneſs of theſe popular Sophiſms, I come nearer to the *Obſervator*, and put it home in a caſe, where I dare promiſe he will ſay it is Sophiſtry: By this way of reaſoning I will prove; there is no better way for the *Obſervator* to improve his Wealth, than to make over the Right of all he hath to me: the Argument will hold good, *Quod efficit tale, eſt magis tale*; he that maketh me rich, by giving me all his goods moveable and immovable, maketh himſelf richer; but the *Obſervator* by giving of all his goods (my aſſumption ſhould have been hypothetical, for poſitively I know the Gentleman will not do it) to me, maketh me rich, *Ergo*, he maketh himſelf more rich. This Logick, I conceive, is not ſo powerful as to cheat him out of his natural, rational Faculty, and ſo cheat him

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out of all his Lands, Chattels, and Revenues: yet it may be by an order of the Houſe, that in ſome caſe this Logick may ſerve to good purpoſe, that the People giving the twentieth, the tenth, the fifth part, or the Moity of their Moneys and Revenues, and all their Plate, to ſtrengthen the Parliament, to advance the good Cauſe, to cheriſh (if we will ſpeak truly) and foment this preſent Rebellion, it will not leſſen their Wealth, but enrich them more, becauſe *quod efficit tale, eſt magis tale*, it maketh ſome rich, and conſequently the Donors much more rich. Certainly, if this Logick hold, it muſt be in great requeſt, for if this Logick do it not, few can ſee how the Publick Faith can be kept; Divinity and Church-rents (if you ſacrilegiouſly rob God, which God forbid) will not do it; it muſt be ſome Sophiſm like this, ſome Sophiſm in this kind, that muſt anſwer for Publick Faith, refund the Moneys *borrowed from juſt Creditors*, and repay the wiſe Undertakers, *qui ſpem pretio emerunt*, who have brought their Hogs to a good Market.

To apply this ſhortly in few words; If I remember rightly this Maxim, *quod efficit tale eſt magis tale*, I learned in the Univerſity, to be underſtood, *de principio formali effectivo*, of ſuch an Agent as is formally ſuch in it ſelf, as is the Effect produced; Next, that it is ſuch as is effective and productive of it ſelf, as when the Fire heateth cold Water, it is hot formally in it ſelf, and maketh Water hot likewiſe. By which it is neceſſary, that the Quality inherent in the Effect, be formally inherent in the Agent; for this reaſon it is, that Wine cannot be ſaid to be drunk, becauſe drunkenneſs is no wayes inherent in Wine, nor can Wine be capable of it; and this made *Ariſtotle* qualifie his Maxim, *quod efficit tale eſt magis tale, modo utrique inſit*. And this *inſit utrique*, that it be in both,

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maketh that the Maxim holds not in ſuch Agents who *operate by donation*, for he that is the Donor denudeth himſelf of the Right and Power of that he giveth to the Donee. So here this condition faileth too. And conſequently, if the Right of the King were transferred by Derivation and Donation from the People, the Donation deveſts them totally of it, except the King have it by way of loan, which to my thinking never any yet ſpoke. Next, it is required, that there be a Latitude, and that that is effected be capable of a Latitude of more and leſs, as when (as I ſaid before) Fire heateth Water, the heat of the Fire is more than the heat of the Water. Laſtly, ſome add too, that the Maxim muſt be underſtood *ante effectum productum*. Now all the Argument falleth to the ground, for Sovereignty never was, nor can be in the Community; Sovereignty hath power of Life and Death, which none hath over himſelf, and the Community conceived without Government, *all as equal, endowed with Natures and native Liberty*, of that Community, can have not power over the Life of another; and ſo your Maxim may be turned home again upon your ſelf, for if the People be not *tales*, ſuch by Nature, as have ſuch Power, they cannot *conſtituere tales*, make ſuch, that is, Kings endowed with ſuch Power; But ſure it is, (as it is ſaid) they have not power of Life and Death, to take away their own Life, or anothers: *Ergo* it muſt be *from God, the living God, the God of Life.*

Seeing you make ſo good uſe of your Logick, give me leave to practiſe Logick upon a more ſure Maxim, which is this, *omnis effectus eſt in efficiente vel eminenter, vel formaliter*, whatever is in the Effect that muſt be in the Efficient, either *formally*, or in a *more eminent and ſuperlative way*; But there is ſomething in a King, which is not in People, either *eminently or formally*: *Ergo*,

Ergo, the People are not the Efficient and conſtituent of a King. The *minor* and the aſſumption is clear, The King hath the Power to take away the Life of man, which is not in the People, whether you take them *ſeverally and ſingly*, for no man hath Power, or may kill himſelf: or whether you take them *joyntly*, for if none hath power over his own Life, much leſs over his Neighbour's; and your grounds beſides preſuppoſe, that all men are equal amongſt themſelves. That the Sovereign hath this Power, who is ſo mad as to deny it? *Gen. 9. Rom. 14. He bears not the Sword in vain.*

Laſtly, this Maxim, *quod efficit tale, eſt magis tale; conſtituens conſtituto potior*, holdeth well with our tenet. Thus, he that maketh Kings, and endoweth them with Power, is much more a King himſelf, and hath much more Power: But God and Chriſt make Kings, *Ergo*. The Aſſumption is clear, *for God is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, to him all Power belongeth*; here then, *utrique ineſt*; and for the other *recipit magis & minus*, it is certain; for the Power of all Kings upon Earth, that ever was, are, or ſhall be, have no more meaſure and proportion to his Power, than a drop of Water to the Ocean; his Power is like the light of the Sun; their Powers but a borrowed Light, like to that in the Moon and Stars. The King's Power related to God is not univocal, it is onely equivocal or analogical; and that to be doubted of too; for Philoſophy telleth us, *finiti ad infinitum nulla datur proportio*. It is more than apparent then, that this Maxim is onely abuſed by the Deceivers of this Time, to make themſelves and the People both of them miſerable. And the Maxim will conclude, that the *Sheba's* and *Shimei's*, theſe Authors and Incendiaries of Rebellion are more miſerable, and ſhall receive (if not in this Life,

Life, yet in that is to come) without extraordinary repentance, a greater condemnation, for they kill both Body and Soul. They make the simpler sort of People miserable, by setting them on upon rebellion against God and his Anointed, to the destruction of State, Soul and Body, temporally and eternally, to the reproach and disgrace of Christian, Catholick, Reformed Religion; and infallibly by necessity of consequents, and necessity of consequence, they make themselves most miserable; for, *quod efficit tale, ipsum est magis tale.*

CHAP. XIV.

Other grounds of the Jesuit and Sectary are removed and disproved; as that; that neither Scripture nor Nature determines the specification of Government; nor do they intimate, why this man more than the other, or he than a third; or these more than those, should have the Power of Government. And that great one is taken out of the way, whereby the variety and difference is found in several Monarchies, It is more than apparent, say they, that Monarchy is κατὰ συνθήκην, by the voluntary composition and constitution of man.

OUR Sectaries have borrowed, as we told you before, their great Ordinance of battery against Sovereignty, from the Jesuits Magazine, any who is read in them knoweth well enough how they

triumph in thoſe Arguments, crying out till they be hoarſe again:

1. Firſt, *Neither Scripture nor Nature teacheth that Monarchy, Ariſtocracie, and Democracie, or any other imaginable ſpece and kind of Government, is the neceſſary Government of Humane kind and ſociety; but that the ſpecification and determination is Arbitrary, and of the conſtitution of man.* To this ſame purpoſe is that other, *Neither the Law of God nor Nature demonſtrate, why this man more than the other, he than a third; why theſe more than thoſe, ſhould have the Sovereign Power.*

2. Another great piece of Battery is that, that *there is ſuch a multiplicity of variety and differences of Kings, and Royal Power in the Kings of the World;* (look, ſay they, upon *Spain, France, Britain,* &c.) *that this muſt neceſſarily argue, Kings are of Peoples making;* and their *Power is in that portion and proportion,* as it pleaſeth the People to entruſt *them.*

3. The third is, *All Humane Societies* are perfect Republicks, and as *they have in them originally a Power to appoint their Government and Governours, ſo they have a Power to preſerve themſelves, and in caſe of miſ-government, they may reſume their Natural, Native, and Original Power, rectifie by themſelves what is amiſs; otherwiſe it muſt be that God and Nature* have left them remedileſs. The firſt two we will handle in this Chapter, the laſt in the enſuing.

To anſwer the Jeſuit firſt in groſs to all; however he be wary enough in all his courſes, yet in preſſing theſe Arguments againſt Monarchy, to prove that Monarchy is by Humane Inſtitution and Conſtitution, and not by immediate collation from God, he is not ſo prudent: for *mutatis mutandis*, with a little change, loſing nothing of their force; theſe Arguments κατὰ βιαιον,

βίαιον retorted, and turned home upon the Jeſuit, will bring home the Concluſion, that the Pope is not of Divine Inſtitution, hath not infallible and univerſal Juriſdiction, but is ſomewhere and by ſome cenſurable, in caſe of miſ-government.

Firſt, I pray you, is it demonſtrable by the letter of Scripture, or by neceſſary and evident Conſequences and Conſequents deducible, that the Pope of *Rome* ought and ſhould be Univerſal Monarch of the Chriſtian Militant Church, Chriſt's Vicar in the External Government in the Church, the true Succeſſour to the ordinary Power and Place of Saint *Peter*, and ſecured from all Errour in Points of Faith, Worſhip, and Manners? That ever Saint *Peter* himſelf had ſo much, neither Scripture nor Antiquity ſpeak for it; nay, they ſpeak the contrary. And if it were granted to Saint *Peter*, where have we warrant in Scripture or ſound Antiquity, that the Pope of *Rome* and none elſe is the true and lawful Succeſſour of St. *Peter*? We will allow them, that if by Antiquity they can make it appear that it is ſo, we will yield what they demand. But as they frame the Argument againſt us, they muſt give us this in Scripture, αυτολέξει, in expreſs terms, or κατὰ συναχολούθησιν, by immutable and pregnant conſequence. If Scripture plead not ſo much for the Pope, it is more than certain, that Nature is as mute as a Fiſh in it. Who ever dreamed that Nature dictates, that for the good and happy preſervation of the Church, there muſt be one Univerſal, Authoritative, Infallible Head, and this man to be the Pope of *Rome*?

Next, let them ſhew to us, where in *Scripture*, or otherwiſe, *by irrefragable Demonſtration*, it can be made appear, that *Gregory* the fifteenth, or *Urban* the

eighth, or any else, should be Pope more than any other.

Again, let us give to *Bellarmine* his Tenet, which he maintains, *lib.* 5. *de Pontifice Romano*, where he endeavours to prove, That the Pope is authorized with an indirect Power over and above Kings, in order to Spiritual things; That the Church is a perfect Republick, which God hath not left destitute to provide for its safety and preservation: If *Bellarmine* will extract from hence this Consequence, *Ergo* the Pope, the Head of the Church, in case of Tyranny, Heresie, or Apostacy, for the good of the Church, may censure, punish, dethrone a King; Why may we not more formally, more powerfully conclude against *Bellarmine* thus, The Catholick Church diffusively or collectively taken, is a perfect Republick, which God hath not left destitute of Power or means to provide for her Safety, in case of Danger and Deficiency: *Ergo* in case of male-administration by the Pope, in case of Deficiency, (which are possibly incident to the Pope, and consistent with his *infallibility ex Cathedrâ*) The Community of Christians may supply his Defects, rectifie his Disorders; and why not excathedrate him too? Otherwise God hath left his Church remediless. The *Romanists* must acknowledge the strength of the Argument to be alike pressing on the one hand, no less than the other, or then they must fore-goe these ratiocinations. More of this in the next ensuing Chapter.

Having premised this general Answer, let us now answer to every one of them apart. And to the first Argument, which is framed thus; Neither the Law of God or Nature determines, that Monarchy is the Government, or Aristocracy the Government, or De-

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mocracy the Government; or why one more than another, and ſome few more than many ſhould have the Supremacy: *Ergo* the donation of the Power, the collation of Supremacy, is by Derivation from the People to the Governour or Governours. To the firſt Argument, I ſay, I anſwer thus, It is an inconſequence; becauſe although I would grant all the antecedent, and that the ſpecification of the Government, the People deſigning (if ever any People were ſo really, to be free of all Government, becauſe it is imaginable, let us grant it as real) either one to have the Sovereignty over them, as in Monarchy; or ſome few of the better ſort, as in Ariſtocracie; or many, as in Democracie; it will not follow, *Ergo* Sovereignty in one, few, or many, is by derivation and donation from them: Becauſe their act in this is onely *Deſignatio Perſonæ*, or *Perſonarum*, to appoint one Perſon, or more, or many Perſons to be Governour or Governours for the Government: The collation of the Power, *Conſequitur ad deſignationem, ex donatione & ordinatione divinâ*; followeth upon this deſignation and deputation of the *Perſon* or *Perſons*, from the immediate donation and ordination of God. As when ſuch and ſuch men are deſigned to Holy Orders and Functions, the Deſignation of the Perſon and Perſons is the work and act of the Church; but the collation of the Power is the proper, peculiar, and immediate Work and act of God, as all knowing Divines do willingly acknowledge. To reaſon *à poteſtate deſignativa & deputativa perſonæ & perſonarum*, from the Power which deſigneth and deputeth a Perſon or Perſons for a Charge; *ad poteſtatem collativam authoritatis*, to the power of collating or giving the Power it ſelf, is the Sophiſm and caption, which the School calleth *à*

figura dictionis, where there is a μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος, a propoſing in the Antecedent in one kind, and a concluding in the Conſequent in another and different kind. A Woman may deſign the Perſon of the Man who is to be her Husband; but marital Right and Power is collated by God immediately, and iſſueth neceſſarily from his Ordination.

That other Sophiſm maketh no better Paralogiſm, although *Suarez* taketh it for a Demonſtration unanſwerable. The force of the Argument briefly is this; If Sovereignty in a King were immediately from God, then Power Royal could not chuſe but be Uniform in all Kings, but this holdeth not; for there is ſuch a latitude of Variety, that ſome Kings have more, ſome leſs, with a great deal of difference in the Point and Power of Sovereignty. Before we anſwer this, I entreat the Chriſtian Reader to conſider, that we maintain not, we plead not at this time for a *Deſpotical Sovereignty*, which is *Dominium herile*, an abſolute Power, ſuch as the Great *Turk* this day exerciſes over his Subjects, or the King of *Spain* hath over, and in all his Territories without *Europe*: We maintain onely *Regiam poteſtatem quæ fundatur in paterna*, ſuch Royal Paternal Sovereignty, as (bleſſed be God) we and our Anceſtors have lived long and happily under. This, as it hath its Royal Prerogatives inherent naturally in the Crown, and inſeparable from it; ſo it trencheth not upon the Liberty of the Perſon, or the Propriety of the Goods of the Subject, but in and by the lawful and juſt Acts of Juriſdiction. Next, I deſire the Courteous and Judicious Reader to remember, that when we plead for the Sovereignty of Kings, we underſtand ſuch onely who are truly and really Kings, not *Titulo tenus*, by compella-

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tion onely, as were the *Lacedæmonian* Kings, Executors only of the Decrees and Pleaſure of the *Ephori* which was truly an Ariſtocracy, no Monarchy.

Then, the Argument is this; that which is of that Condition and Temper that it may be enlarged or ſtraitned; that which actually and experimentally is found various and different, it cannot be ſuch by any Conſtitution of nature, or Inſtitution from God: But Monarchy is ſuch, *Ergo.* Here *Suarez* cryeth out, *Clarum eſt indicium hujus veritatis, quod hæc Regia poteſtas non ſit æqualis in omnibus regibus, neque cum iiſdem proprietatibus durationis, perpetuitatis, ſucceſſionis, & ſimilibus.*

The *major* of this Syllogiſm, or Sophiſm rather, muſt be ſome way better qualified, otherwiſe it will conclude nothing, or too much, which is the equivalent in the rules of Right and ſound reaſoning to that, to conclude nothing. In the ſame manner I reaſon, every man hath not a little meaſure of Knowledge, Reaſon, Diſcourſe, *&c.* but ſome are more, ſome are leſs knowing men; ſome more, ſome leſs rational, *&c. Ergo*, Knowledge, Reaſon, Diſcourſe, *&c.* are not natural to man. The Conſequence is lame; becauſe to Reaſon, *ab actu exercito ad actum ſignatum*, or contrarywiſe, will not always hold; or to reaſon *à potentia ſecunda ad primam vel è contra*: from the Difference in the Exerciſe, to conclude a Difference or Diſparity in the firſt Capacity, is inconſequent. To be rational in *the firſt Capacity and natural Power*, is eſſential to all men, and equal in all; but in *the uſe*, *the Exerciſe* of the rational Faculty, there is a vaſt Diſparity, becauſe of a great Latitude in different actual Ability. Nature admits a great Variety in the uſe and exerciſe of her natural Powers, that all are not alike fitted and enabled for the ſecond Acts. In the firſt Capacity nature

is ſo juſt, ſo equal, ſo indulgent to all, that the native firſt radical power being of it ſelf, *in indiviſibili*, is equal in all; no leſs, *in homine tenuiſſimi ſenſûs*, in the leaſt knowing man, than in him who in Sharpneſs of Wit approacheth neareſt to Angelical and Noetical Spirits.

Take another Inſtance; the face of man is not much above a Span in Length or Breath, yet what an immenſe Variety is there in the faces of men? Naturaliſts and Moraliſts do hold, and not without great ſhew of Reaſon, that from the firſt to the laſt man, every individual hath his own proper peculiar face. Can *Suarez* or any other from this Variety in the antecedent, bring home this Concluſion in the Conſequent, *Ergo* a face is not natural to man, but ſomething caſual, or accidental? The Reſult is, we muſt pitch upon ſome things natural, which are uniform in all, and which yet admit, in the multivarious Wiſdom of God, and large work of nature, ſome room and place of Variety, which Variety doth neither aboliſh nor deſtroy the Eſſentials. We will find the like in Monarchy, that all of them are uniform in their Eſſentials; and accidental Varieties do not prove them to be of humane Compoſition or Conſtitution.

If Inſtances in things natural do not the Buſineſs, let me entreat the *Jeſuit* and *Puritan* to look upon moral things, where they will find the like. *Vltio ſcelerum*, that groſs enormous Crimes are to be puniſhed with a condign proportioned Puniſhment, is the Ordinance of God, of Nature, and common Equity. This Truth is undenyable. Is there not a great Variety and Difference in the meaſure and manner of the Puniſhment, in different Kingdoms and Nations? Theft ſomewhere is puniſhed by Death, ſomewhere by Reſtitution; and

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that of Reſtitution, ſomewhere twofold, ſomewhere threefold, ſome fourfold, *&c.* ſomewhere it is puniſhed by Slavery, ſomewhere one way, ſomewhere another way. Infinite Inſtances of this kind might be adduced. Can you from hence conclude, that the Puniſhment of Theft is not an inviolable Order and Ordinance of Almighty God and common Equity? But that it hath all its Entity and Being by influence from humane Appointment? A Country Clown would jeer you for this.

We deny not but Gods Works are uniform in their Eſſentials, *ita ut nec augeri nec minui poſſunt*, that if you take the leaſt part of the Eſſentials (if Eſſentials may truly be ſaid to have parts) from them, they periſh; yet this may well ſubſiſt with ſome more, ſome leſs power in the actuating or exerciſing of this natural uniform Power. No underſtanding *Jeſuit* will deny, but acknowledge that Epiſcopacy with all its eſſential Power is immediately from God, and of his Inſtitution; and yet may it not be, that *in actu exercito*, in the exerciſe of this Power ſome Biſhops may have more, ſome leſs power in actuating that which they are not reſtrained from, but may do *ex vi ordinis*, by their ſacred native Power? A Biſhop *ex vi ordinis*, by his inherent Power of Conſecration, may ordain every where in the World, as many Prieſts, as many Deacons as he will; yet may he not be reſtrained, that he ſhall not do it without his own Dioceſs? May he not by the ſame Power ordain a Prieſt without a Title or Cure? and yet may he not be reſtrained by poſitive Conſent and Conſtitution, that he ſhall not do it? Is not the caſe poſſible and probable, that Biſhops of one particular Church may be more reſtrained than Biſhops of another particular Church? Can *Suarez* or any other

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than conclude from this Variety in the Exercise of Episcopacy, that Episcopacy with it's radical Power is not immediately from God and Christ? He hath more Learning and Candor than will allow him to be so absurd.

The Sectary feeleth no hurt by this Stroke: Well, let us come home to him. I demand of the Sectary, whether or not a *Minister made* (I dare not say, a Priest in sacred Orders, or ordained by Imposition of hands, this Christian Practice is Antichristianism now a-days) hath not all the Power naturally inherent in him, that any other Minister whosoever, or wheresoever else? I am confident none of them will deny it: Again, may he not be restrained to do no Ministerial act, as to Baptize, Preach, *&c.* but within his own Parish, unless he be otherwise licensed? No moderate Sectary (if any such be) doth deny this. Come on: In some cases of Jurisdiction (I fear the Term offends the Ears and Stomach of the *Precisian*) in some cases of Discipline, I say, of which by Gods Law, and his calling (excuse me to keep their own Diction) he hath full Power within his Charge, may he not be so restrained that some *reserved cases* (this Phrase I fear be offensive) that some points of Discipline be reserved as peculiar for the *Classis*, the *Presbytery?* and that their Judgment is only to be executed by the Parish Pope? This is a known case amongst them. Again, may there not be some points of Discipline, and Doctrine too, reserved as proper and peculiar for a Provincial? And again, some of that high Strain and Concernment, that they cannot be cognosced or determined, but by a general Assembly of such a monstrous Composition, a *Tragelaphus*, such as never Christ instituted, nor Christian Church knew? All this holds with their Tenets,

nets, their Practices. Further I demand, may it not be that in particular National Churches, as the Church of *Germany*, the Church of *France*, the Church of *Scotland* are, in theſe caſes reſerved reſpectively as we expreſſed before, that there may be a great Variety and Difference? Now notwithſtanding of all thoſe Reſtraints, by which Miniſters ſo evidently and actually differ in the exerciſe and actuating of their Miniſterial Charge and Function: The Sectary that underſtands himſelf aright, will be very loath to have the Concluſion brought home, that the Miniſterial Power is all by humane Inſtitution, by humane Compoſition, Contract, or that his Calling is humane only, conventional only, pactional only. As he anſwereth for himſelf, I hope he will furniſh us an Anſwer how to take off this Argument ſo much triumphed in both by him and his ſpurious Father the Jeſuit.

I take the *Obſervator* to be a Lay Gentleman, and it may be, as the times are, he careth not much for the one way of Epiſcopacy, nor the other way of Presbytery, nor the third of Independency, nor any other way imaginary or imaginable in the Church; we muſt therefore ſome other way ſatisfie him. Then let me entreat him to conſider what Variety and Difference is found in œconomical Government, if he will look upon the exerciſe either of marital or paternal Power: View it, if in different Kingdoms, in diverſe Nations he find not and acknowledge a great immenſe Variety: or will he look upon both at home, not almoſt one Family uniform and alike with another: and that according to the various Temper of Fathers and Husbands, their different Abilities, ſome being more indulgent, ſome more rigorous, ſome keeping the equal mean: Some being more intelligent, knowing, and pru-

prudent; ſome of leſs Knowledge, Prudence, and Government. The *Obſervator* will find ſome wives like *Sarah*, with Reverence and Submiſſion calling their Husbands Lord; ſome *Michols* lording over their Husbands; ſome Fathers like *Eli* too too indulgent to their Children: others like *Job* happily and piouſly breeding his Children, and ſacrificing for them when they are feaſting. In brief, look upon the œconomy of all Families within your Knowledge, and you ſhall find that in Government not one looks like another. Doth it then from hence follow neceſſarily, that paternal or marital Authority is not from God and Nature, but appointed at the pleaſure and Conſtitution of men?

The reſult of all is this: That ſeeing in things natural, things moral, things eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual, and in things œconomical, this accidental and ſupervenient Variety in their exerciſe, deſtroyeth not the true Eſſence and inſeparable Eſſentials of the things themſelves, but naturally they are uniform and equally the ſame: So in the different Monarchies of the World, the Diſparity and Difference of the exerciſing of monarchical power, which is accidental, maketh them not ſpecifically and eſſentially different and diverſe. What theſe *prime, radical, eſſential Conſtitutives* of Monarchy are, it will be proper to expreſs, quæſt. 4. We content our ſelves with three, which are agreed upon to be in all Speces of Sovereign Power, whether Ariſtocratical, Democratical, or Monarchical. The 1. Firſt is, that it is *Poteſtas ſuprema*, that it is ſubordinate to none but Almighty God; *dicit negationem ſuperioris in terris*, it admitteth no *coordinate, collateral, coequal, or corrival Power*. 2. Next, it is *Perpetua poteſtas*, a perpetual Power; He cannot fall from his Sovereign-

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ty, but whilſt he lives he is the Lords Anointed. 3. Thirdly, the Power of all Monarchs, and of every Monarch, is *Legibus ſoluta*, ſubject to no over-ruling Power of man. Conceive it not ſo, that Kings are free from the direction of, and obligation to the Law of God, Nature, and common Equity; but from *Coercion humane*, or any *humane coactive Power*, to puniſh, cenſure, or dethrone them. The *Hebrews* call theſe, and what particulars come within their verge, *Majus Imperium*; the *Greeks* κύριον πολίτευμα, and πρῶτον ἀξίωμα; and where thoſe are equal in all Monarchy, no accidental variety can change the nature of Monarchy in all and every one of them.

As for other particulars virtually and naturally included in theſe three, howſoever *in actu ſignato*, in *their firſt capacity*, they be *propriè propriiſſimè*, radically and properly in Sovereignty and in Monarchies; yet *in actu exercito*, in the exerciſe of them, they may be entruſted to the Subject, *Ita ut non defluat radix ſupremæ poteſtatis*, ſo that they have it onely by Delegation and Truſt, *communicativè*, by communication; not *privativè*, not ſo that theſe Delegates are inveſted ſo with it, as the King is totally diveſted. Who can deny but *Judiciaria poteſtas*, the Power to judge in all *Cauſes*, *Criminal*, *Civil*, which concern the Subjects and Kingdom, is inherent eſſentially in the Crown and Scepter of the King, and the King, to eaſe his burthen, and that Juſtice may the more readily and eaſily be done, intruſteth his Judges with it? And here, is not the Truſt leſs and more, as it pleaſeth the King to give it? Is it not different in ſome onely for ſuch and ſuch Caſes and Cauſes, in others, for ſome others different? And doth there not lie to the King *extrema appellatio*, the laſt Appeal? or if that be not, to make

make Juſtice more expedite, is there not the equivalent reſerved, that the Party hurt may by Petition and humble Remonſtrance, make his Caſe and Cauſe evident to the King, that he in his Sovereignty may redreſs what is wrong, and puniſh the Judge abuſing his Truſt? By which it is more than apparent, that this and the like Reſtraints, the King putteth upon the exerciſe of his Native Power, is onely *ad minuendam ſolicitudinem*, not *ad minuendam Majeſtatem*, to facilitate his Charge, and not to denude or diſrobe himſelf of that Sacred Right and Prerogative God hath given to him, as his Vicegerent upon Earth.

Again, it is not ſlightly to be paſſed by, that there be many Kings, many times too indulgent Fathers to their People and Subjects, who give away too much of their Sacred Right, which, when Subjects have come at, being more than they ſhould, zealous of their Liberty, will not part with it again, but detain it ſacrilegiouſly. If a man could be allowed to ſpeak truth in this diſtempered Age, it may be ſaid without ſin againſt God, or crime of læſe-majeſty againſt King or People, that where Monarchy has been too much ſtraitened, and weakened by loſs of its natural and native Prerogative, it hath been done by imprudent, at leaſt inconſiderate acts of too good Princes, and of voluntary conceſſion: and in the end, as they prove derogatory to Sovereignty, ſo they prove deſtructive to the Peace and Protection, the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject. Review all the Grants of Princes in this kind, and you ſhall find upon Authentick Record, that they be meer *Conceſſions of grace.* If as much could be ſhewn upon as faithful and unqueſtionable Record, to prove our King a pactional, and conventional Prince, your Plea ſhould be more ſpecious

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in the Eyes of the World. And if you could by *authentick Evidence* make it appear, that ſuch bounds and limits are put to Sovereignty, as it is more than manifeſt that what you claim is by acts of voluntary Humanity, you ſhould do ſomewhat which probably would take the People more; but I muſt tell you withal, you totally deſtroy Monarchy, and muſt ſay right down our gracious Sovereign is no Monarch, which is againſt Reaſon, Senſe, all Records extant, and the univerſal teſtimony of all knowing men in other Kingdoms and States. It is great Diſcourteſie to change Princes *acts of grace* beſtowed upon Subjects, into acts of *Duty* and *Debt*; nor is it a ready way to obtain more grace, to prove unthankful, and not acknowledge prior graces received. Lawyers and Juriſts do tell you, that from *actus humanitatis & voluntatis*, from acts of Courteſie and voluntary Conceſſion you may not reaſon to conclude *actum neceſſitatis*, an act of Neceſſity and Debt; this is a Paralogiſm in Law.

Laſtly, Is it not more than known, that People are ſo corruptly diſpoſed againſt, and oppoſed to Government, that they are ready to ſlip the collar, and to ſhake off, at leaſt to weaken the yoke of Government? From hence it iſſueth, that ſubtil men wait opportunities to cheat good and weak Princes out of their Rightsand Prerogatives. And is it not ſeen, that wiſe and able Princes being plunged into inevitable and unavoidable Difficulties, to obtain Subſidies and Aſſiſtance of their Subjects, to extricate themſelves out of ſuch Labyrinths, are forced to ſuffer their Rights to be wreſted out of their hands, and to make ſale of them? Both Statutes and Stories witneſs this truth plentifully. The truth is, they are ill made away, and a great deal

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worſe kept away. Neceſſity may be ſome excuſe for parting with them, but it is Sacrilege in Subjects to detain them. It cannot ſubſiſt with the Rules of good Policy and Government, to trench ſo upon *the Prerogative of the King*, as to diſable him from doing his Charge, *to protect and govern his Subjects in Peace and Safety*. An impotent King is the ſame with no King: where in the Book of *Judges* it is ſo oft repeated, when Idolatry, rapine, Blood and Oppreſſion abounded, that *in thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael*; none is ſo blockiſh to conceive that God's People lived under an *Anarchy*: but the Phraſe importeth two things; firſt, that they wanted the moſt excellent of Governments, they had no King, no Monarchy; next that the *then Government* was ſo weak and weakened, that it could neither repreſs, nor cenſure diſorders of the higheſt Enormity: and that whole Book is a full Commentary that Ariſtocracy is defective to effect or work the proper Works and Effects of perfect Government; for you ſhall find univerſally in the whole Book, that while the People were governed by the *Sanhedrim*, the Princes of the Tribes, and Fathers of the People, *&c.* the People went a whoring after other gods; then God, to puniſh them, delivered them into the hands of their Enemies; then they cryed to the Lord in the day of their diſtreſs, and then the Lord raiſed up to them a *Sophet*, a Judge, a Deliverer, who, under God, as his Viceroy, had *Jura Belli & Pacis*; Sovereign Power in War and Peace: a very obſervable thing to prove the excellency of Monarchy, and the weakneſs and defects of Ariſtocracy, whoſe miſ-government could not be rectified but by placing the Sovereignty in one: Read and conſider the whole Book, and you will find it true what we ſay: To

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give you one for all, referring the reſt to your own ſearch and trial, read the ſecond Chapter of that Book, which, in the opinion of the moſt Learned, is a brief ſummary of the whole ſtate and condition of that People, from the firſt time of that ſtory to *Saul* and *David*'s dayes, and particularly read what you have *Verſ.* 17, 18. *They would not hearken unto their Judges, but they went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themſelves unto them, they turned quickly out of the way which their Fathers walked in, obeying the Commandments of the Lord; but they did not ſo. And when the Lord raiſed them up Judges, then the Lord was with the Judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their Enemies all the dayes of the Judge.* And ſee what followeth, *Verſ.* 19. *And it came to paſs when the Judge was dead, that they returned and corrupted themſelves more than their Fathers, in following other gods,* &c. *They ceaſed not from their own doings, and from their ſtubborn way.* To conceive theſe words right, you muſt obſerve, that the word, *Judges*, verſe 17. and the ſame word, *verſe* 18. is not uſed in the ſame ſenſe; the reaſon is evident; for of the firſt Judges, verſ. 17. it is expreſly ſaid, *The People did not hearken to them, but they went a whoring after other gods,* &c. Theſe Judges were the ordinary Judges, the *Sanhedrim*, the Princes of the twelve Tribes, the Fathers of Families, *&c.* The Judges mentioned, *verſ.* 18 *&* 19. are the Judges extraordinarily raiſed by God, *Othniel*, *Ehud*, *&c.* So the word *raiſed* imports: Again, theſe Judges became Judges after their going a whoring, and after their miſery and ſlavery for Sin. Thirdly, of theſe Judges it is ſaid, that not onely they delivered the Iſraelites from their bondage, but that during their dayes, the People continued in the right ſervice of God. Fourth-

ly, that after their Death they ceaſed not from their doings, and from their ſtubborn way: which things are far different from the Condition of the Judges mentioned *verſ.* 17. Laſtly, it is not to be paſſed by, that emphatically it is ſaid, that *God was with the Judges whom he raiſed up*, more bleſſing Monarchy than Ariſtocracy, becauſe more warranted and liked by God than any other Government whatſoever: Obſerve it well, that under the *Judges*, the Ariſtocracy, the people went a whoring; and when the Judge, raiſed up by God, died, and the Government returned again to be Ariſtocratical, the Text ſaith, that *they ceaſed not from their doings, and from their ſtubborn way*. Add to this, that *Abimelech* knew it to be a powerful Argument to perſwade them to make him King, that Monarchy was better than Ariſtocracy, *It was better one reign over them than ſeventy*. Forget not withal, that in all the Diſorders mentioned in the laſt part of the Book the Reaſon is not given for want of Government, but want of a King in *Iſrael*: of this more, *Queſt.* 2. To return to our purpoſe by what we have alledged it is clear, that Sovereignty weakened in Monarchy or Ariſtocracy cannot do it's work, and is in the next place and Condition to Anarchy and Confuſion. When *Zedekiah* was over-lorded by his Nobles, he could neither ſave himſelf nor his People, nor Prophet and Servant of God *Jeremiah*: nor could *David* puniſh *Joab* when he was over-awed by that Power he himſelf had put in his hands. To weaken the head is to diſtemper the whole Body: wherefore I doubt not to affirm but if any good Prince or his royal Anceſtors have been, or are cheated out of their ſacred Right by Fraud or Force, he may at the fitteſt Opportunity, when God in his wiſe Providence offereth the occaſion,

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resume it. Much more lawful it is for Kings to do this, when Subjects have used or abused rather such Concessions of Grace to the hurt of Sovereignty, and the good of the Subject. Let us never feed our selves in a foolish Paradise, to think the Subject can be secured, where the sacred Prerogative of the King is injured. *Contractatio rei alienæ*, what a Sin it is the Law decides, determines: *Contractatio rei alienæ & sacræ*, what a Sin it is Scripture telleth us; it is Sacriledge, and Intrusion upon Almighty God himself, no less than when a Kings Ambassadour is violated by a Foreign Prince. Our Saviour hath taught us, it is not fit to cast Pearls and precious Stones, you know to whom; I have a better Opinion and Esteem of all the Kings Subjects. It is a poor and ignorant shift that some Pettifoggers, Smatterers in the Law, use to wrong the sacred Prerogative of Kings, acknowledging no more for the royal Prerogative, nor what, they say, the Law municipal of the Kingdom hath determined. I do not speak this to reproach Intelligent Jurists, and reverend Judges, whose places and parts I reverence as much as any, accounting the knowledge of that Science next to Divinity, and far more excellent and useful than all others besides. I acknowledge none have written more divinely almost, nor rationally, in maintenance of the sacred Right and Person of Kings, than some excellent and eminent in the Knowledge of the Law; as *Bodin*, *Barclay*, *Blackwood*, and others, to whose Travels in this Subject we owe much: but for these other *Stioli*, they cannot distinguish betwixt *a Statute declarative*, and *a Statute constitutive*. What is found in the Statutes of the Kingdom concerning the Prerogative they only declare Prerogative to the Subject, and add a Sanction penal, in

caſe of Violation, they do not determine it, God Almighty hath by himſelf declared it. We would laugh at him in the School of Divinity, who would but mutter that the Decalogue was not a Law till God wrote it with his own Finger in two Tables in mount *Sinai*, gave it to *Moſes*, and *Moſes* intimated it to the people. What *is morally natural* in it, is *Lex naturæ*: the Dictate of Nature, by the finger of Nature written in the minds and Hearts of all; and what is *poſitivum morale*, poſitively moral, was from the Beginning ſo, known and practiſed by the Church from *Adam* to *Moſes*; when *David* commanded what ſhare of the Spoil thoſe ſhould have, who were the reſerve to preſerve the Stuff, Scripture calleth this Ordinance a Law made by David to laſt for ever; yet we know this was God's Ordinance before the Law. The very like is in Statutes and Acts of Parliament declaring the royal Prerogative of a King, that the Subject may the better know it, be put *in malâ fide*, if he violate it, and know what Judgment he is to expect.

Laſtly, to ſhut up all this Diſcourſe, let us intreat the impartial Reader to caſt his Eyes upon all Story domeſtick and Foreign, and eſpecially domeſtick, and if they find not the worſt Bargains ever Subjects made, was at any Rate to purchaſe a poſſeſſion of the ſacred Rights of Kings; ſometimes it hath been no better than *occidiſti, poſſediſti*; it hath been purchaſed with a great deal of Blood. The Market hath been made by Sedition, Rebellion, Rapine, Murder, plundering God and man, and ſometimes regained again to its right Owner, but at as dear a Rate and Price. It is in Morals as in Naturals, *Omne corpus quieſcit in ſuo loco*, an Element without its place hath never Reſt, nor the World good by it's Operation and Influence, till

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it be replaced and ſeated in it's right Locality. God hath commanded not a *date* but a *reddite*, not a *giving* unto *Cæſar* of his Right, but a *rendring*, not only as due, but if it be with-holden or with-drawn to reſtore him it. The Stories of theſe Kingdoms have too many real Proofs of this Truth, I forbear to cite them, or to refer you to them, I wiſh of theſe days, and others like them, that they be never known nor read of hereafter: *Excidat illa dies, &c.*

But ſeeing I treat of this purpoſe divinely, give me leave to ſpeak Gods Truth to you, as becometh Gods Servant and a good Subject, Till thoſe Kingdoms be purged of Sacriledge ſo highly committed *againſt God*, by wronging his *Anointed*, and *his Church*, and both of them reſtored to their ſacred Right, we need not expect true and ſolid Peace, nor the true and effectual Bleſſings of God. Let us fancy to our ſelves this or that Accommodation for Peace, if God be wronged in his Anointed and Church, we add only Fewel or Oyl to the Fire. Almighty and merciful God, the God of all Spirits, put it in the Hearts of all Chriſtians and Subjects, to honour him, and in him, and for him, his Anointed and Church, rendering to God what is God's, and to the King what is the Kings; that there may be a Bleſſing in theſe Kingdoms, in our *Jeruſalem*, there may be Peace within her Walls, and Proſperity within her Gates, that the Crown which he hath put upon the head of his Anointed our Sovereign may flouriſh with him and his Seed for ever, and we and our Poſterity may live in Godlineſs and Honeſty under him and them till the coming of our Lord, when he, they, and we ſhall receive that immortal Crown of eternal Glory, which the *King of Kings*, *Lord of Lords*,

and chief Bishops of our Souls hath laid up for all them that fear him. *Amen.*

CHAP. XV.

Wherein is examined the Jesuit's Maxim, That every Society of Mankind is a perfect Republick; and consequently, the Community may supply and rectifie the defects and errours of Sovereignty. And the Puritan's too, That if there were not such a Power and Super-intendency in People to supply, God had left man remediless.

THE Jesuit and Puritan, although they differ in their Expressions, agree well in the Sense, and intend both of them one Conclusion. How this Argument κατὰ βλαῖον may be retorted upon the Jesuit against his *Numen terrenum*, the Pope, we told in the preceding Chapter; only now let the Jesuit give me leave to ask him how a Republick is conceivable, is imaginable without a Governour or Governours, and People governed? How can a Society be imagined without Order? and how Order without Priority and Posteriority? When the Jesuit then saith, that every Society of men is a perfect Republick, and every perfect Republick must have within it self as much Power as may preserve it self from Ruine, and right what is amiss, he must necessarily by this Society of men, and Republick mentioned in the Premisses understand only the Community of the People and Sub-

Subject, in an abſtracted Notion, from the Sovereign Governour or Governours; otherwiſe concludes nothing at all to purpoſe. And here let me intreat the Jeſuit or Puritan to tell me where ever he read the word *Civitas* or *Republick* aſcribed to a multitude, a diſorderly rout, where there is no Governour. It is alike to conceive a politick Body without a Governour, as to conceive the natural Body without a Head. We pardon the Jeſuit and Puritan to give us new Tenets in Policy, ſeeing they are ſo bold with God and his Church, to give us new Tenets in Divinity.

Again, it is worth our obſerving, that when our Adverſaries come to ſhew where this Republick is, where this Superintendent Power is ſeated, they differ and vary infinitely. It is no wonder to hear the Builders of *Babel* ſpeak with different Tongues, we are hopeful God in his mercy will ſcatter them upon the Earth, and caſt down *this Babel*. The Jeſuits, all, for ought I know, do aſcribe this to the Community; The Sectaries do differ infinitely, ſome warrant any one Subject, any individual Perſon, to make away a King in this caſe; and that ſuch a work is no leſs to be rewarded, than when one killeth a ravenous Wolf. Some will have it in the whole Community with the Jeſuit. Some will have it in the Collective Body, but how? not met together by the Warrant or Writ of Sovereign Authority, but when neceſſity (which is often fancied and imaginary) of reforming State and Church, calleth them together. Some will have the Power in the Nobles and Peers of the Land. Some in the three States, aſſembled by the Kings Writ. Some in the inferiour Judges. In ſum, every one fancieth it to himſelf, as he reſolveth to Idol or ſerve corruptly

the humour and ſtate of the People where he liveth. When theſe Claſſical Authors agree in one, they will make us think their Tenets ſounder, and their courſes more warrantable, which I never hope to ſee, becauſe this Spirit of Diſcord God hath put as a Judgment upon all Maſters of Errours.

I diſpute not whether this Power be in the Community, or in the Collective Body, or in the Peers and Nobles, or in the inferiour Judges, or in the Parliament, or where elſe you can imagine it, for I know no where it is to puniſh or curb Sovereignty, but in Almighty God; Onely I demand of the Jeſuit and Sectary, that ſeeing whereſoever they put it, they make it the laſt remedy, the onely remedy to ſupply all Defect, to redreſs all Wrongs, to ſet aright whatever is dis-joynted in Church or State; *The Subject of this ſuperintending Power muſt be ſecured from errour in Judgment, from errour in Practice*: and how happy are we now, that in theſe late dayes we have a Pope *in Temporalibus*, who is no leſs aſſiſted and endowed with *the gift and grace of Infallibility*, than the Pope of *Rome* determining *ex Cathedra*. He is too much in love with a Community, or with Nobles, or with Parliaments, or with inferiour Judges, *&c.* who thinketh or judgeth that they, or any of them are ſecured from Errour in the reformation of State or Church.

But on the other ſide, if the Multitude, the Peers, the Judges, the Parliaments, are liable to Errour, and many times actually do err; when they err in this glorious work of Reformation of Church and State, doth not the perfect condition of a perfect Republick require, that there be ſome authorized with a ſuperintendent Power, to rectifie their Errours, and to puniſh their miſdemeanours? otherwiſe God hath left Church

and

and State remedileſs; they muſt name this Remedy, and by all appearance this muſt be the Sovereign again; and ſo *Impius ambulat in circuitu.*

If they will ſay, that to eſchew ſuch a ridiculous regreſs and circle betwixt King and People, and People and King, and to ſhun *Ne detur progreſſus in infinitum*, that if the Community or Parliament err, the remedy is to be left to the Wiſdom and Juſtice of God; Why will not the Sectary acknowledge that it is as fit, when the Sovereign tranſgreſſeth againſt the right Rules of Government, that People and Subjects ſubmit in Patience, and wait till God ſend a Remedy, either rectifying or removing the bad Governour?

Where ever you place this Superintending Power above a King, I care not much, for it is but an *Idea*; by this ſame Power they who are authorized with it by God and Natures Right, may call a King to account, cenſure, and puniſh him for any errour or miſdemeanour whatſoever, for any one act of injuſtice: Why might not the People of *Iſrael*, or Peers, or *Sanhedrim*, *&c.* have convented *David* before them, judged, and puniſhed him for his Adultery with *Bathſheba*, and his murther of *Uriah*? The *Romaniſts*, and greateſt part of Antimonarchical new Statiſts, do acknowledge no caſe lawful, but either *in Hereſie, or in Apoſtaſie, or in Tyranny*; the firſt two the *Romaniſts* would have it to the Popes Power, and at his Diſcretion; the laſt, of Tyranny, all of them do qualifie thus, *Ut ſit univerſalis, manifeſta, & cum obſtinatione*: that it be in ſuch Tyranny onely which is intended, endeavoured, attempted for the *whole and total deſtruction* of the Publick, which cannot fall into the thoughts and attempts of any but a mad man. What is recorded in ſtory

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of *Nero* his wish in this kind, may be rather judged the expression of a transported Passion than a fixed Resolution. Next, this case must be *evident, and clear as the Sun-shine at Noon-day.* Thirdly, it must be joyned with such pervicacy and obstinacy, that it is inseparable and invincible by any ordinary humble Remonstrance and Supplication to the contrary. Although we give it, that it were lawful in a case so qualified, for the Community or any else, to resume their Power, and use it to remedy themselves, and to rectifie what is amiss, which we cannot grant; we are very confident, that all the Wit of the Oppolites cannot make it appear, that their case is such at this time. Upon their grounds we see not how by sound reason, not onely in such case as is expressed onely, but also in every case of male-administration whatever it be, they who have this pretended and fancied Power, may not use and exercise this superintendent and transcendently extravagant Power.

I pray you, if this Superintending Power in the People, Peers, or Parliament, *&c.* resumable in the exigent of great necessity, be the onely means and last remedy allowed, and so necessary that without it neither Church nor State can be preserved in their integrity; how cometh it to pass that we have neither Precept nor Practice for it in Holy Writ? *Deus & Natura non desunt in necessariis*; God and Nature are not deficient in things primely necessary. Nothing can be conceived more necessary for State and Church than such a Remedy. If then we cannot hit upon expres and clear warrant by Precept or Practice in Scripture, for a matter of so high and necessary concernment, who can be so stupid in a Pythagorean way, to believe this upon an *αὐτὸς ἔφα*, upon your Rabbies bare assertion, or trust

truſt it upon an Anabaptiſtical Enthuſiaſm. There is nothing more certain, than that there is not any thing in Scripture tending that way. If it be, our Adverſaries are bound to produce it; for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, He that affirms it to be ſo, is bound to make his proof appear.

Next, this tenet argues too great a confidence of our ſelves, as if to be left to our own natural Providence, were the onely ſufficient, competent and perfect means of Safety and Redreſs of Church and State. We hereby preſume upon our own ſtrength, that by our ſelves we are able to rectifie and preſerve both Church and State. It is Arrogancy too, for hereby we are puffed up with an overweening conceit of our own Piety and Integrity, as if our Judgment were ſo ſound, as that it cannot be darkened or corrupted, and our Affections ſo orderly, as they cannot over-rule us in a wrong courſe, to do againſt that is pious and juſt. I was ever in opinion till now, that ἀναμαρτησία, to be ſecured from Sin, was the onely propriety of God, and that it is antichriſtian in the Pope to lay claim to an abſolute Infallibility. But this new Policy will find the like in the Parliament, the collective Body or Community.

Thirdly, conſider attentively and impartially what you hold, and you will find it reſolve into *Infidelity and Impatience*; *Infidelity*, that we do not truſt that God is able to do it; *Impatience*, that we will not wait patiently till he do it. The Heathen are nearer to Chriſtianity in this, than our *glorious Reformers*. *Tacitus* ſaith, *Quomodo ſterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate; vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur.* The ſafeſt way,

way, in the wiſe Hiſtorian's judgment, is to endure the Tempeſts of ill Government patiently, as we do other Tempeſts falling from Heaven; while men are, faults will be, but will not be alwayes laſting; and better things will come with compenſation of our loſſes.

Fourthly, It is much better for us, that God hath reſerved this as a peculiar caſe to himſelf to puniſh Sovereigns, and to rectifie their Errours. But for us on the other part to uſurp upon his Right, it is no leſs than intruſion upon his Divine Prerogative, and carrieth along with it *Morbum complicatum*, a number of Sins againſt many of his moſt glorious Attributes. 1. It wrongeth God in his *glorious Wiſdom*, that he hath not prepared ſuch a Remedy for us in this caſe; nay, it putteth *fooliſhneſs* upon him, that in this caſe he hath commanded Patience, and ſo left us totally remedileſs. 2. It wrongeth God in *his glorious Power*, by making him weak, that by no other means he could ſet aright what is disjoynted in Church and State. 3. It wrongeth *his Holineſs*; who for the neceſſary ſupport of Church and State by theſe means, is neceſſitated for effecting the Work moſt concerneth him and his Glory, to have and uſe the help of ſinful men, nay, even of their Sins. 4. To what is ſaid, add this, that this Principle of theirs diſhonoureth Chriſtian Religion; it turneth Religion into Rebellion, Faith into Faction, and Chriſtian obedience into diſloyal Treaſon. Nothing is more powerful to deter Kings from coming to the profeſſion of Reformed Catholick Religion, than to hold, that ſuch a Superintendent Power is in People or Parliament, to cenſure and unking Chriſtian Kings.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Chriſtian obedience and Sobriety teacheth us to leave all Evils in Church and State to be redreſſed by thoſe means God himſelf hath appointed, and when the ordinate means do it not, or do to the contrary, we are to keep our ſelves pure, poſſeſs our ſelves with Patience, and refer the Remedy to God, who hath reſerved this to himſelf: We ought not to juſtle God out of his Right. Before we have ſaid, that Scripture affords no warrant by Precept or Practice to the Community, the collective or repreſentative Body to do it; But now we add, for them to do it, by oppoſing or reſiſting Sovereignty, is in Scripture expreſly forbidden: *Romans* 13. 2. *Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* Of this more *Queſt.* 5. We muſt therefore cloſely adhere to what God hath commanded, not turning to the left hand, to obey unlawful things commanded by *the Sovereign*; nor to the right hand, with violence to reſiſt lawful Authority. Let all Subjects remember, that in the day of their Accounts the charge will be to all *ſingly* or *joyntly* conſidered, *Who hath required theſe things at your hands?* Who hath made you Judges and Executers of matters of ſo high concernment? And though it be pretended and poſſibly intended too, that the work ſo done ſhall make much for *the glory of God, the good of the Church, the liberty and happineſs of the Subject*, it will not take us off. *We muſt not do evil that good may come of it, Rom.* 3. 8. To do God a piece of good ſervice againſt his Will manifeſted, is not to acquit our ſelves as *his humble ſervants*, but to prove us *his arrogant and proud Maſters.* He is moſt glorified when his voice is obeyed: 1 *Sam.* 15. 22. God ſtandeth not in need of wicked man, nor of his ſinful wayes. It was

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pious Intention *Uzza* had, when he put out his hand to save the Ark from falling: yet because it was above his Charge, God did strike him presently dead, 2 *Sam.* 6. 6. 1 *Chron.* 13, 10. It is not enough for these Reformers to be assured in their Consciences that the work they intend and are about, tends to a good, religious, and pious effect: but they must have a sufficient Warrant from written Truth, that they are warranted and called to this work.

Sixthly, as it is against Piety, it is against Prudence and the good of Policy: Prudence doth not allow us to loose what real Good we have in present Possession, for any future good which we have only in uncertain Expectation. By this projected Course of our *New-Statist-Divines* we loose a good Conscience, fall in actual Disobedience and Rebellion against the Lord, and his Anointed. We refuse Gods Tryal, and with an unwarrantable, indiscreet, and unseasonable Zeal for Religion, and our temporary Good, come contrary to God and his Commandments. We subvert, nay, shake off the Glory that God expecteth by our Tryals, and cannot, dare not, expect Gods Blessing to our Endeavours. If the Root be evil the Fruit can be no better. Who may expect a Blessing to a sinful and rebellious Course? Doth he allow us to do wrong, and seek an Opportunity to do Good? God acteth no Evil, but only permitteth it, and that because he is able to work Good out of Evil; which is as inseparably proper to God alone as the immensity of his Power: it is infinitely a superlative Presumption for us to presume upon the like. We cannot expect any Blessing without a promise; and have no Interest in the Promise, but when our Acts and Works presuppose Obedience to his Precepts. By such a Course

as

as you prescribe, we make the precept of God of none Effect. Our excuse in this case will prove no better than the *Pharisees* who taught their Disciples, doing things unlawful, to say *Corban*, God shall have Profit by it, in the good we shall do to Church and State. When we come to Judgment our Works shall witness against us, and our good Intentions will not save us; you know it is commonly and truly said, Hell is full of good Intentions, and Heaven of good works.

Seventhly, if we look upon the practice recorded in Scripture, when Gods people were delivered from Bondage or Captivity, or when Grievances in Church and State were rectified and reformed, God never gave warrant to the Community or to the *Sanhedrim*, but did it by his own high hand, or authorized a Sovereign, and put it in his Heart and Power to do it. Look upon the Bondage of *Ægypt* which lasted 250 years, God did not use or authorize the People to deliver themselves by a strong hand, but sent and authorized *Moses*, *Exod.* 3. 10. *Come now, saith the Lord*, and I will send thee; a calling he had, Authority from God he had, and it proved successful. Some pious and learned men are of the Opinion, that when *Moses* rescued the *Israelite*, and killed the *Ægyptian*, he did offer himself a Protector and Deliverer to his Nation, but that for his unwarrantable Intention and Attempt, he was forced to flee, and with forty years Penance and Repentance wash away that Guiltiness. As I dare not condemn them confidently, yet I trust such is their Charity, to allow me in Modesty to dissent from them. First, because I hold it a good rule, not rashly to condemn the extraordinary Acts of the Saints, when they are not evidently in Scripture condemned; it is Saint *Austin*'s Rule. Next, because of Saint *Stephen*'s Testimony,

mony, who, *Acts* 7. expresseth so much, that this was a *præludium*, an Evidence that God was to send him to be their Deliverer. I am certainly assured that God did not think it a fit way by *Moses* and the People of *Israel*'s Sword to work his Deliverance. But forty years after sent *Moses* cloathed with his immediate Commission, to command *Pharaoh* his Vicegerent to let his people go; and authorized *Moses* his Vice-Roy over his own People, that so the Peoples obedience to his Servant *Moses*, and to the word delivered in his Name, might be without check or wrong of Conscience in regard of their Allegiance. It is very observable and conducible to our Purpose, that God did not deliver his people by the wisdom of *Moses*, or strength of the People, or any act that way of theirs, but did with an high hand by his own immediate Might and Power. God thereby declaring to us, that before he would authorize his own People to do it, which had been a bad president for ever for Rebellion, he would rather put himself to pains to work extraordinary and wonderful Miracles.

So in the Book of the *Judges*, when the people were delivered over into the hands of their Enemies, because of their Sins, He never warranted and authorized the ordinary Judges or Community to be their Deliverers, but the Text saith expresly, that when they groaned under their Oppression, and repented of their Sins, God *raised up a Judge*. Is not this a real proof, God will not have inferiour Judges, or the Community, to rectifie what is amiss, but we must in patience wait till he provide lawful means, some Sovereign power immediately sent by himself to do it? in which course in his ordinary Providence he will never be deficient, although the extraordinary way be ceased, if we will

will repent us truly of our Sins, and wait in patience for the Salvation of our God. Is it not worth your Labour to obſerve when the gracious Deliverance came to *Iſrael* from the Captivity of *Babylon*, which laſted ſeventy years, that his people had no hand, no part in it, not to contribute the leaſt Auxiliary help, but God effected it by the hand of *Cyrus* his Anointed, immediately and totally? Appeareth it not clearly by this, how careful God hath been in his Providence, that People may not right themſelves by their own doing, not when they are under greateſt Preſſures, higheſt Oppreſſions? For what were the Kings of *Babylon*, but to ſpeak in our Adverſaries diction, *Tyranni cum titulo?* Who acquired Sovereignty over them by Conqueſt, their Conſent being ἑκουσίως ἀκουσίως, voluntarily, involuntarily.

Laſtly, for theſe popular Reformations lately ſo much cryed up, as the beſt, the moſt divine, the moſt warrantable, methinks are moſt unwarrantably magnified. It is not to be denied, but people are much taken with ſuch Doctrines, and are very ambitious to be Reformers of Church and State: And ſubtle factious Spirits have great Advantages to work on the People and their weak Underſtandings, for there can be no Government either in Church or State, ſo eminently perfect, where ſomething might not be wiſhed to be amended. No Government is ſo commodious, which is not attended with ſome Incommodities; that as the *Comick* ſaith, *aut hæc cum illis habenda, aut illa cum his amittenda ſunt*: from thoſe Inconveniences in Government, crafty and diſcontented men take occaſion to preſs upon the weaker ſort (which is moſt numerous) the preſent Inconveniences, ſhew them their Intereſt, how in Conſcience they are bound, and by God war-

ranted to put to their hand, promiſe them not only a ſhare in *the glorious Work of Reformation*, but alſo to free them from all Errours and Preſſures, to mould and frame ſuch an *Utopia* in the State, and ſuch a *Paradiſe of the Church*, that ſhall not want any thing but Chriſt to come and reign actually and perſonally amongſt them, which they expect, as I hear, and have defined the time. When people are deceived thus and tranſported, theſe *Achitophels*, *Abſaloms*, and *Sheba's* deſire the Aſſiſtance of the people to bring this happy Change about. They obtain it, engage their Souls by Oaths, Covenants, and Perjury, and engage them ſo much in Treaſon and Rebellion, that Life, State, Fortune, and Honour lie at the Stake; come off they cannot. By which means they get into their hands ſurreptitiouſly *an arbitrary Power*, the thing they moſt feared, moſt abhorred, and practiſe it too. And although the people are made to believe, that they all and the whole, are intereſſed, yet really and truly ſome few domineer. They command what Supplies they will, of *Men*, *Arms*, *and Monies*; ſeize all Forts, preſs all Horſes, &c. and that in that way, in that quantity, they think neceſſary, which muſt be obeyed; otherwiſe they are not ſufficiently enabled to bring about ſuch a great Work, Reformation of Church and State, and Preſervation of the people. This is the way by which theſe Principles find eaſie Admittance upon popular Affections, but cunning Subtilty doth ſo abuſe them, that they are cheated out of their Wits, and follow Courſes deſtructive to themſelves, and bring upon them the Evils they moſt feared. It is not reaſon that will right theſe deceived and abuſed Fools, παθήματα muſt be μαθήματα, καὶ πάσχων μαθὼν ἔγνω, Miſery will be the firſt competent Inſtruct or

ſtructor to undeceive them. The Doctrine and Reaſons we firſt bring to the contrary of this Tenet, we know aſſuredly they will not reliſh them, but the contrary uſe will be made, to incenſe a mad people and make them more mad: yet Truth forceth us to ſpeak; for *Ubi reſipuerint*, when they come to their Wits, they will curſe their *Gamaliels*, and forſake their Principles.

Firſt then, I demand of thoſe who ſo magnifie *popular* Reformations, as the only beſt, moſt perfect and abſolute Remedies of what is amiſs in Church or State; who that hath read Scripture, or by Experience hath remarked the Temper and Conſtitution of the Multitude, can believe that Almighty God hath committed ſuch a Truſt to them? Is there one of a thouſand, if you truſt *Job* or *Solomon*, amongſt them of underſtanding? Was ever any act done by them but in a *tumultuary way?* And is not their Reformation attended with *Fury and Violence*, Impiety againſt God, ſacred Perſons, ſacred Places, ſacred Things? Have not theſe miſ-called Reformations been acted, proſecuted with open and crying Injuſtice, not only againſt innocent but well deſerving men?

Secondly, I deſire them to ſhew me in Scripture, or in Eccleſiaſtical and authentick Story any popular *Reformations of Church or State*, happy and ſucceſsful: what they alledge in this laſt Age, are the Inſtances controverted; and till they give inſtances *extra propoſitum*, not queſtioned, by their Favour they only beg the Queſtion. When God eſtabliſhed both Policy and Church, after the Deliverance of his People from the Houſe of Bondage, he would not do it, but by *Moſes* his Sovereign Viceroy, *King of Jeſhurun*, Deut. 33. *Joſhua* did the like: *Joſ.* 24. The Judges raiſed by

God as they delivered the people from their Slavery, ſo they rectified what was amiſs in Church and State. What Deſolations were there in Church and State in *Saul*'s Reign? Both State and Church in the Solemnity and Sincerity of the Worſhip in the days of *David* came to their *Zenith*, to their higheſt Perfection aud Beauty: Read you, I pray you, of any doing in it but by *David* the King, with the Advice and Direction of ſome Church-men? Afterwards when it was corrupted, who made the Reformation? None but he who was King or Sovereign: as *Joaſh*, 2 *Chron.* 24. *Ezechias*, 2 *Chron.* 29, 30, 31. *Joſias*, 2 *Chron.* 34. 35. *Ezra*, *Eſd.*

To make Covenants againſt King or Sovereign, pretending or intending, if you will ſo, the Reformation of Religion, where read you it? The firſt Covenant of a people formed into a politick Body, is that you read *Exod.* 34. Had either the Community, the collective or repreſentative Body any other hand in it than to obey, as *Moſes* King of *Jeſhurun* commanded? *Joſhua* made another, *Joſh.* 24. conſider the place, and ſee if either *Tables or Parliament* framed it, urged it. You have another, 2 *Chron.* 15. but it is done and preſſed by the royal Authority of *Aſa the King*. You have another, 2 *Chron.* 34. but it is the Act of *Joſiah* the King. The like you read of *Eſdra*, *Eſd.* 10. If any object the Covenant of *Jehojada* in the Non-age of *Joaſh*; Let them be pleaſed to remember that this was the High Prieſts act, not as High Prieſt, but as Governour to the King. By the ſame Power he did it, by which he dethroned *Athaliah*, armed the Subjects, and enthroned *Joaſh*. Shew me one Covenant in the book of God, which was made without the King, except it be a Covenant with Hell and Death;

or

or as *Judas* covenanted with the *Jews* to ſell and betray his Maſter. Or ſuch a Covenant as the Prophet *Hoſea* ſpeaketh of, *Chap.* 10. *verſ.* 3, 4. *For now they ſhall ſay, we have no King, becauſe we feared not the Lord; what then ſhould a King do unto us? They have ſpoken words, ſwearing falſely, in making a Covenant; thus Judgment ſpringeth up as Hemlock in the furrows of the field.*

Laſtly, Reflect upon Popular acts invading Sovereignty, and attempting Reformation, and you will find them as ſinful, as little ſucceſsful, as Kings of Popular Election. It is recorded in *Exodus*, that *Moſes* the Sovereign of the People of *Iſrael* being abſent forty dayes in the Mountain with God; the People, notwithſtanding that they had lately ſworn a lawful Covenant, forced *Aaron* to make them Gods, a molten Calf, and forſake the true and living God: *Exod.* 11. Here you have a glorious popular Reformation in Religion. Take another Reformation in the State, and ſee if it be better. The People of *Iſrael* living under the happy Government of *David*, by the ſuggeſtions of *Abſalom* and his fellow-Traytors, poſſeſſed a Prejudice of *David* and his Government, that Juſtice was not done, and the State might be better ordered, aſſemble without Warrant of the King (a Treaſon if any thing elſe, if we look on Scripture) to *Abſalom*, under pretence of a Vow, ſhake off *David*, and acknowledge themſelves Subjects to *Abſalom* the Traytor, the Uſurper: 1 *Sam.* 15. The ten Tribes after the death of *Solomon* ſupplicate *Reboboam* for a Redreſs of their Grievances; not anſwered to their mind, rebel againſt *Reboboam*: To ſtrengthen their Kingdom and Policy, they ſet up a new Religion, make new Prieſts of their own. Their Religion is the ſame

their Fathers attempted in the Wilderness, *Exod.* 32. and this is the *second glorious Reformation* of Calves-worship: what was the issue, I pray you? it pursued them to their utter extirpation. What can be said of that abominable act of the *Jews*, who to save themselves condemned Christ? Are not *Communities* subject to dangerous Inclinations from private Incitements? Are not their *Representatives* subject to mis-leading Factions, and ambitions of private ends? They are too much transported with the love of a popular estate, who can so over-rule their Understandings, as to force themselves to think, that Communities, or their Representative bodies, are not molested or transported with corrupt judgments and affections for private ends.

To conclude, Seeing then to establish the People to be the last and best Remedy to rectifie all Errours in State, in Church, establisheth so many Absurdities and Paradoxes, and hath no warrant by Scripture, sound Reason, or Experience, we can neither believe it, nor approve it: for to aver and affirm that a *Community diffusive, collective*, or *representative*, is a perfect Republick to preserve it self, and to right what is amiss, abstracting the notion of a Republick, from the Sovereign Governour or Governours, is a notion not imaginable, nor ever used by any who ever wrote or spoke right in Policy. It secureth the multitude from Errour both in matters concerning Church and State: There is neither Precept nor Practice in Holy Writ to warrant that the multitude have such a super-intendent Power above their Sovereign. Nay, Scripture commandeth us the contrary, not to assume this Power, or to resist the Higher Powers, under no less pain than Damnation. This Maxim resolves into in-

fidelity,

fidelity, that we truſt not God can do it, or will do it; and into Impatience, that we will not wait patiently till he do it. Chriſtian obedience and Sobriety teacheth us to reſerve the rectifying of the Sovereign, and his Errours in Government, to God himſelf. We muſt not ſerve God againſt his Will, nor without an expreſs Warrant for our doing ſo. By doing, as our new Statiſts warrant us, we run into Rebellion, and loſe a good Conſcience in dutiful obedience and humble ſubmiſſion, and prejudice God of that glory he expects by our tryals. We muſt not do evil that good may come of it, nor upon pretences of good intentions and good effects to follow upon ſuch courſes, prove our ſelves to be proud Maſters, and forſake to be Gods humble Servants. In all Deliverances God beſtowed upon his own People, in his wonderful Providence he effected them, either by his own immediate hand, or by ſome other hands, not permitting or allowing to his People any ſhare in the work, foreſeeing how we would make it, if it had been otherwiſe, a bad preſident for rebellious courſes. Popular Reformations are neither warrantable nor ſucceſsful. The multitude are moſt of all unfitted for preſerving Church or State. In Scripture we have no Reformations recorded, but only ſuch as have been acted by the authority of the Sovereign. Many popular tumultuary courſes we find attempted and effected by the People, to the hurt and ruine of Church and Commonwealth. Wherefore let every one, and all of Subjects, be ſubject to Superiour Powers, in obedience to that is good, and in Patience ſuffering what is evil, waiting patiently till God in his appointed time ſend relief, and deliver his Church and us from preſſing and oppreſſing Evils.

CHAP. XVI.

Wherein is examined that Maxim, Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto. *And the other, That the People may be without a King, but a King cannot be without People.*

THis vulgar Maxim, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto*, was one of the Laws of the XII Tables. It was made for a Democracy, and hath in it a good and warrantable sense, if it be rightly taken in its proper meaning. But as it is abused and perverted by our *Miso-monarchical Statists* and *Sectaries*, it hath been the Mother of much mischief.

The Sectaries who abuse it, understand it so largely, at least make the People conceive so, that all Government and Superiority in Governours and Superiours, is primely, nay, only for the Subjects and Inferiour's good. This holds not; for some Government and Governours are by God and Nature appointed for the mutual and inseparable good of the Governour and Governed, of the Superiour and Inferiour, as *in maritali regimine & in paterno*, as in the marital and fatherly Government. Some Governments are primely, principally, and properly for the good of the Superiour and Governour, as *in herili dominio*, in the Government of a Lord and Servant; where the good and benefit of the Servant is but *secondary and consecutively* intended; it is not the principal end, but the external and adventitious; as the gain that cometh to a Physician by his Practice, is not the proper internal and principal end of his Art, Science, and Practice, but

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conſequitur ad medicinam, it followeth and attendeth his Skill and Practice.

What can our Adverſaries ſay of a Title acquired to a Kingdom by lawful Conqueſt? That ſuch a Title is good, and a King may be lawful King by Conqueſt meerly, without the conſent of the People, is ſo evident in Scripture as it cannot be denied. In this caſe, the good and benefit of the Conquerour is the prime thing and principal. The Conquerour may diſpoſe of it at pleaſure for his own good, as *Solomon* did give *Cabul* to *Hiram*.

Moreover, according to the Jeſuit's and Puritan's grounds, as a man may render himſelf totally under the Power of a Maſter, without any conditions or limitations, or bounds whatſoever; why may not the Body of a People do the like, to have Peace and Safety, ſurrender themſelves fully into the Power of a King? May not a Lord of many great Mannors and Lands (if the Laws of the Countrey do not forbid it) admit no man to live and gain by living within his Territories and Countreys, but upon condition of a full ſurrender of himſelf, his Poſterity, and all belonging to him, into his Lords power? Doth not *Tacitus* tell us, that anciently amongſt the *Germans* every Head of the Family was *Father*, *King*, and *Prieſt*; and that all the Tenants of his Territories had no more corn for meat, no more number of Flocks, no more for uſe of cloaths, than it pleaſed their Lord to allow them? *Suam quiſque familiam, ſua penates regis, frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut veſtis colono injungit, & ſervus hactenus patet.*

May not a diſorderly multitude, without order and government, or any ſubordination at all (this is impoſſible, but let us take it as probable, becauſe imaginable)

nable) conceiving Safety and Good to themſelves, totally ſurrender themſelves into the power of one to rule over them hereditarily? Or may not a people in a formed and framed politick Body, upon the Receit of a great Benefit, as Deliverance by one from a mighty Oppreſſion, ſurrender themſelves thus totally to their Deliverer and his Succeſſors? It is not improbable, that the Iſraelites did offer ſome ſuch Condition to *Gideon* and his Poſterity, for the great Deliverance they had from the *Midianites* by his Sword, *Judges* 8. Did not the *Campani* in this way, if we may truſt *Livie*, ſubject themſelves totally to the people of *Rome? Populum Campanum*, ſaith he in the words of their chief Heads, *Urbemque Capuam, agros, delubra deûm, divina, humanaque omnia in veſtram P. C. ditionem dedimus.* O noble Senators, we ſurrender and give up unto your Dition and Power, the people of *Campania*, our City *Capua*, our Lands, the Temples of our Gods, and what divine and humane things are ours. By what is ſaid, it is more than apparent, that this, *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto, Let the Good and Safety of the People be the ſupreme Law:* is not an univerſal Dictate of Nature, a paramont Law, which is univerſally verified of all Government and Governours.

This Speech is as much abuſed, when by theſe new Statiſts it is applied to Monarchy. I moſt heartily grant that the Preſervation of the Peace and Safety of Subjects and People is the *prime end* in the Conſtitution of all Government, but it is not the *ſole and adæquate end.* The *complete, adæquate, and perfect end of Government* in Monarchy, is *Salus Regis & Populi*, the Safety of King and People. Notwithſtanding the Safety and Good of the people may be called the *prime and principal end* in the Conſtitution of *Monarchical Government*,

ment, becauſe it is moſt agreeable with the *joynt Intereſt of King and People.* It is a word exceeding well beſeeming a King, to ſay, *Salus Populi ſuprema lex eſto*, let the Safety of the People be the *Paramont Law.* There is no Doubt that the King ought to proportion all his Laws to this end, this is juſt, this is neceſſary, this is honourable, this is advantageous to the King: who that is wiſe, will not provide as much as he is able, for the Good, Safety, Plenty, and Peace of thoſe, in whoſe happineſs is his Glory, and in whoſe Deſtruction his own is involved? And on the other hand it becometh Subjects well to ſay, *Salus Regis ſuprema lex eſto*, and to proportion all their Obedience, Endeavours, and Actions for the Safety, Honour, Power, Happineſs, and Glory of their King. It is impoſſible the Subject can have Peace or Safety where the Sovereign and his Prerogative are weakened ſo that he cannot command and protect.

To reaſon from the one part of the end of Monarchical Government, the Safety, and the Good of the Subjects, to the Deſtruction or weakening of the other part of the end, of the power of Sovereignty, and the royal Prerogative, is the Sophiſm which the School calleth *a diviſis.* Nor can we imagine *a poſſible or probable Exiſtence* of the good and right of the Subject, without *a pre-exiſtence* of the entire Sovereignty and Prerogative in the King: this is eaſily demonſtrable, if we conſider what was the prime end of the Inſtitution or Conſtitution of Kings. By uniform and univerſal Conſent it is acknowledged to be for this purpoſe primely to preſerve people in Peace, Plenty, and Safety. If the King then be not authoriſed and furniſhed with ſufficient power to work this effect, how can the People expect it? By the Suffrage of our anti-monar-

narchical oppoſites it is granted, that the Multitude and People were at firſt neceſſitated to ſubmit themſelves *unius imperio*, to the Government of one King, and to commit themſelves, their Lives, their Laws, their Fortunes, to his Truſt and Power; becauſe they knew ſuch was their Weakneſs, that they had not Wiſdom enough to rule themſelves, to foreſee, and prevent Dangers, nor Power enough to protect them from wrong of the more powerful either living amongſt them, or nearly adjoyned to them. And for this cauſe in their Opinion accorded that for Honour and Power he ſhould be ſufficiently enabled to act and perfect all theſe acts of Government, and to effect and produce thoſe ends, *his own and their Happineſs*; nor doubted they to entruſt him with Majeſty (the word *Majeſty* ſpeaketh two things, *ſummum honorem & ſummam poteſtatem*, ſupremeſt Honour, and ſupremeſt Power) being aſſured that his Intereſt was ſo involved in theirs, that he could not chuſe but moſt earneſtly and carefully endeavour this end: by which premiſſes, (which are their own) it is moſt certain, that *Salus Populi*, the Safety of the People, iſſueth from *Salus Regis*, the Safety of the King, no leſs than the Life of the natural Body from the Soul that enliveneth it: notwithſtanding we think they ſhould ſpeak more divinely, if with the dialect of holy Scripture they would ſay, that Almighty God knowing that no Society of mankind could be, nor Happineſs in that Society without Government, ordained for this, and that Government ſhould be, and the Governours entirely endowed and enabled with Power and Honour to do it; and that conformable to his own Government, at firſt he in Paradiſe fixed this Government in the perſon of one *Adam*, and provided for the Continuance and Succeſ-

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on of it, that it ſhould be tranſmitted to the firſt-orn in defailance of the Father. God knew it well, hat it was better not to be at all, than to be without Government: and that weak Government is the quivalent of Anarchy and no Government. Saint *Paul* knew not how *Quiet*, *Peace*, *Godlineſs*, or *Honeſty*, ould be without Government. I do think our Puri-ans are not ſo much in love with School-tenets, as to hold, that *Quovis modo eſſe*, nay, *Pœnale eſſe* is better *quàm non eſſe*; ſeeing Scripture hath ſpoken the con-trary, that it is *better never to have been born*, *better that a mill-ſtone were put about their neck and caſt into the Sea*, than to be in a pœnal condition, *and that ſome ſhall ſeek to dye for eaſe, but ſhall not find it.* Heathen Politicians tell us, *Tyrannis potior Anarchiâ*, Tyranny is better than no Government.

Scripture is plain and powerful enough for this truth, that no ſafety can be to mankind, without the ſafety of Sovereignty, and of the Prerogative of Go-vernour and Government, *Exod.* 20. It is the firſt Precept of the ſecond Table, *Honora patrem, &c. Honour thy Father*; where, by Father is principally (accord-ing to the Commentaries of Ancient and Modern Divines) meant the King: then followeth, *Thou ſhalt do no murder, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, Thou ſhalt not ſteal, &c.* To intimate to us, that neither Life, nor Chaſtity, nor Goods, nor Honour, nor Fame, nor any thing elſe can be preſerved, except the King have his Right.

The expreſſions of Scripture are admirably empha-tical to import, that in the King and his ſtrength is all our Safety, our Life, our Happineſs. The King is called, *Lament.* 4. 20. *The breath of our noſtrils*; this place, it ſeemeth, alludeth to that, *Gen.* 11. 7. He is called

called, the *Head of his Subjects*, 2 Sam. 21. 17. *He is the light of his People*, 2 Sam. verſ. 2. He is their Shepherd and Paſtour, *Pſal.* 78. 71. The Heathen call Kings ποιμένας τῦ λαῦ, They are the *Nurſe-fathers of the Church*, *Iſai.* 49. 23. and 40. 26. The King is the *Head-ſtone of the corner*, *Pſal.* 118. 23. The ſame in the State, that Chriſt is in the Church, *Iſai* 28. 16. 1 *Pet.* 11. 6. The Greek word βασιλεὺς implieth as much, that he is the very bottom and foundation upon which the publick good of the whole State, and the private good of every one is founded and built. Excellent expreſſions they be, diametrally oppoſed to the Divinity and Policy of this miſerable Age. The King is the breath of our noſtrils, then no Life without him; He is our Head, then all Life, Senſe, and Perfection in him, all Motion from him, and the influence of his Government; he is our Light, nothing then but Egyptiacal darkneſs and blindneſs without him, without his Government; he is our Shepherd, then no maintenance, no entertainment without him; he is the Corner-ſtone, then nothing but he can tye mankind together in a peaceable and comfortable Society; nay, he is the Foundation, the Corner-ſtone, and Head-ſtone of the Corner, upon whom all is built and grounded, in whom all are conjoyned, and by whom all are protected. Turn it over again; take away the King, you take away our Life, our breath; weaken him, we faint, we pant; hurt the Head, you diſtemper all the Body; weaken the Head, and you feeble both hand and foot, and all parts and members of the Body; ſmite the Shepherd and the Flock will be ſcattered; if the foundations be deſtroyed, what can the Righteous do? If the corner-ſtone be pulled out, the ſide-walls and whole Fabrick muſt fall; if the Head-corner-ſtone be removed, there

is no protection againſt the Tempeſt, but Rain and ſtorm will ſpoil the whole Building.

Saint *Paul* hath a ſhort, but a moſt pithy expreſſion of the good iſſueth from the Supreme Power upon all, *Rom.* 13. 3. *Tibi in bonum*, he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good: this Indefinite *Tibi*, *to thee*, implieth as much as the Miniſter of God by his immediate Ordinance and Ordination, *is for thy good whoſoever thou be*; be thou Nobleman, be thou Gentleman, be thou Citizen, be thou Countrey-man, be thou Church-man, be thou Lay-man, he is for the good of all, of the whole Politick Body joyntly, and he is for the good of every individual and particular Perſon ſingly; for our good from God they are ſent, for our good to us they come. If Kings were not, we ſhould be as the Fiſhes of the Sea, the greater deſtroying the ſmaller, or as the Beaſts of the Foreſt, the ſtrong deſtroying the weaker, *Hab.* 1. 14. Saint *Chryſoſtom* explaining theſe words, 1 *Tim.* 2. 2. ἵνα ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ ἐκείνων σωτηρία ἡμῶν ἀσφάλεια. Where the Apoſtle ſaith, *that we may live a quiet and peaceable life*, that is to ſay, ſaith the holy Father, *Our Security ſubſiſts in their Safety.*

It is worthy your notice taking, that in the Book of *Judges*, where it is recorded, that all diſorder was in the Church and State, the reaſon is ſo often given and repeated, *Becauſe in thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael*; you read it *cap.* 17. 6. & 18. 1. & 19. 1. & 21. 25. Which words import not ſimply, that there was no Government in thoſe dayes, none can be ſo ſtupid to imagine it, but the Spirit of God intimateth two things to us: 1. The one is, that they wanted Monarchy, the moſt excellent of Governments. 2. The other is, that the Government then Ariſtocratical

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tical was ſo weakened, that in Church and State nothing was ſound, the groſſeſt Enormities did abound, and there was no ſtrength in Authority to right it: Review the ſtory, There was no King this time, and conſequently, there was all miſchief this time, and therefore a fit time to ſhake off the old, and bring in a new Religion. *Micah* and *his old doting Mother* will have a Religion of their own, an Idol of their own, a trencher-Chaplain of their own, there is nothing to let it. No matter for ſacred Orders, if a Levite may be had it is better, otherwiſe it skilleth not much. The reaſon is given in the Text, *In diebus illis, &c.* in thoſe ill dayes there was no King in Iſrael. I wiſh we were ſo happy that theſe Times of ours had no reſemblance with that time. Well, but it is no great matter for Religion, if every man can enjoy his Liberty, his Honour, his Peace, live in Safety, what is Religion to us? If this be Religion, theſe Times want not Profeſſours too too many. It will not reſt here, although every man have liberty, or licence rather in Anarchy, to have and to profeſs what Religion he will, the ſame Scripture telleth us, *where no King is*, Rapine and Spoil will be; where no King is, plundering will be good Juſtice; every man's Lands, Revenues and Chattels may be *fortiter occupantis*, the ſtronger may diſſeize the weaker; you ſhall have the *Tribe* of *Dan* to ſpoil too. Nor is this all, *The men of Gibeah* will abuſe the Levite's Wife, nay, do it avowedly, abuſe her to death; it is no great danger to act and do what miſchief you will, *where no King is. No man's Soul, Wife, Life, or Goods can be ſecured, where no King is.* Idols may be erected, Murder may be acted and allowed, Men robbed of their Goods, and all this good Service, *for the glory of God and the good Cauſe.* Conſider again, how uni-

univerſal theſe Miſchiefs are, you have a *Micah* a private man, *Gibeah* a *City*, *Dan* a Tribe, all out of order and courſe. Religion is defaced, Juſtice is abuſed, Honeſty and Civil moral Converſation is ſhaken off; Diſhoneſty, Impiety, Uncleanneſs are avowed. Again conſider, *Micah* was at Mount *Ephraim*, in the midſt of the Land, *Gibeah* was at one end of the Countrey, and *Dan* at the other; ſo that theſe Miſchiefs were not confined to one corner, but were ſpred over all the Land. And ſeeing Scripture repeats it, let us repeat it too, all theſe Diſorders, all theſe Miſchiefs were, becauſe *in thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael*. Turn it over again, No better way to keep Religion ſincere and incorrupt, mens Lives and Wives, Honour, Goods and Poſſeſſions in Safety; to ſecure them from Murder, Abuſe, Oppreſſion, than *by Kings*. No doubt, Prieſts there were then, but either they would not ſerve at all, or then the Prieſts were over-awed by the diſorderly and ſinful multitude, *Hoſ.* 4. or did preſcribe their Text, give them Commentaries, taught them what to ſay, what to preach. No doubt, in thoſe dayes Judges they had, but Juſtice was not done, or if done, at pleaſure; otherwiſe Judges were poſted and ſigned with a *nigrum theta*, marked to be ſtoned by a raſcally multitude. Though Prieſts be in the Church, and Judges be in the Land, they are not able to guard the Publick or Private from wrong; wherefore it is moſt conſonant with Scripture to ſay, *Salus Regis ſuprema Populi ſalus*, the Safety of the King, and his Divine Royal Prerogative, is the ſafeſt Sanctuary for the People. *Ubi non eſt gubernator populus corruet*, ſo readeth St. *Hierom Solomon's* words. I refer my ſelf in this to the Conſciences and Experience of the King's Subjects, what hath been the ſecurity or comfort they have had

in Perſon, State, or Goods, ſince the Lords Anointed, the beſt of Kings, hath been wronged. O if they durſt ſpeak! O if they would ſpeak!

The Prophet *Hoſeah*, cap. 3. 4. threatneth as the greateſt of Judgments in this world, *That the children of Iſrael ſhall be many dayes without a King.* Liſten I pray you, to what followeth, *and without a Prince*, that is, there ſhall be no Nobility; and what more? *and without a Sacrifice*; that is, there ſhall be no Religion, no true Prieſt. The ſame Prophet, *cap.* 10. 3. ſheweth they ſhall have no King, becauſe they feared not the Lord. The Prophet *Jeremy*, *Lam.* 11. 9. lamenteth firſt, that their *Kings were captives*; then, that they had no Nobility, for *their Princes were captives too*; then, *the Law is no more*; Juſtice is gone with the King; and then, *the Prophets find no Viſion from the Lord*; Religion is gone too. Will not all this lead us to better thoughts, a better eſteem of *Salus Regis*, of the Safety of the King, the preferring of his Divine Right, and Royal Prerogative? It may be our Zealots account thoſe Prophets no better than Court Paraſites.

Cyprian, or ſome other ancient Author masked under his Name, ſummeth up ſhortly but pithily the happineſs of People in a King, *de* 12 *abuſionib. Sæculi*, *cap.* 9. *in fine*. *Eſt pax populorum, tutamen patriæ, immunitas plebis, munimentum gentis, cura languorum, gaudium hominum, temperies aëris, ſerenitas maris, terræ fœcunditas, ſolatium pauperum*, &c. The words are plain enough, they need no interpretation.

What mean they then who magnifie this Maxim, *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex eſto*, Let the Safety of the People be the Supreme Law, to call it in a narrow ſenſe, abſtracting *a ſalute Regis*, from the ſafety of the King,

King, *The tranſcendent ἀκμὴ of all Politicks; the Paramount Law that giveth Law to all Laws whatſoever, that the Law of Prerogative it ſelf is ſubſervient to this Law, and were it not conducing thereunto, it were not neceſſary nor expedient?* Some more ſuperlatively exceſſive commendations the *Obſervator* and others give unto this Maxim; which how they cohere with what we have brought from Scripture, and ſaid by its warrant, I humbly ſubmit to the intelligent, to the impartial Reader; and come to conſider the no leſs lame, than extravagant conſequences the *Obſervator* deduceth from this miſ-underſtood and abuſed Maxim. They be four, which when we look upon them inwardly, are ſuch as never Saint of God, nor ſound Politician thought of before; we ſhall follow him in his order.

The firſt Conſequence that he knits with this Antecedent, The Safety of the People is the Supreme Law, is an, *Ergo, The King is bound in duty to promote all and every one of his Subjects to all happineſs.* Certainly, there is more in the Concluſion than is vertually included in the Premiſſes; for when *Salus Populi*, the Safety of the People, to which the King is tied, to conclude *omnis felicitas populi*, all happineſs of the People, and with that large extent, to all and every one, may well be anſwered with a *non ſequitur*, that the Conſequence is lame: the reaſon is clear, *Salus populi* may ſubſiſt without *Felicitas Populi*, *Felicitas dicit quid majus*; the Safety of the People may ſubſiſt without the Felicity of the People, for Felicity of the People is the Safety of the People, and ſomewhat more. I demand of the *Obſervator* and his Complices, who ever heard that either by the *Law of God*, *Nature*, or *common Equity*, the King is bound to promote *all and every of*

his Subjects to all Happineſs? God is not ſo rigorous a Task-maſter: nor is the *notion of the word* [*protect*] either in it's native or uſed Senſe, to which the King is bound, ſo large, as to tye him to promote all and every Subject *to all happineſs.* It is not imaginable, the tendereſt-hearted Father or Mother can do this to their beſt beloved Child, nor doth God or Nature require it. Doth the *Obſervator* by ſuch Conſequences intend to make a Kings charge intolerable, God injuſt to impoſe it, a King unable to do it, and reſolves to condemn all Kings who do not ſo provide for the Happineſs of all and every one of his Subjects in the higheſt meaſure? Who will deny but every King is bound to level all his Actions, Intentions, and Endeavours, for the Peace, Plenty, and Safety of his Subjects in common? But to put this Burthen on the King which neither he nor his Fathers were able to bear, is too hard a meaſure. We may expect this from his Goodneſs and Bounty, we cannot charge it upon him as neceſſary, and incumbent to him of Duty.

Are not all and every one of Subjects by Duty and Oath tyed to *Salus Regis*, to provide for his Safety, Honour, Wealth, and Power? Are not we ſworn to it in the *Oath of Allegiance*, to aſſiſt and defend all Priviledges, Preeminences, and Rights belonging to *His Highneſs, his Heirs, and Succeſſors*, or annexed to the *Imperial Crown of this Realm?* If all have not taken this Oath, all born in his Majeſties Dominions are bound to it; of all it may be actually exacted: and the *Statute* 5. *Eliz. cap.* 1. ordains that *all Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes elected for the Parliament, who ſhall not take the Oath of Allegiance made* 1. *Eliz. at their Entry in the Parliament Houſe, ſhall have no Voice in Parliament, but be conſtrued, as if they had never*

been

been elected, and ſuffer ſuch Pains and Penalties, as if they had preſumed to ſit in Parliament without Election, Return, or Authority. By this Oath mentioned in the *Statute*, they are bound *to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queens Highneſs, her Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors, and to their Power aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Preeminences, and Authorities, belonging to the Queens Highneſs, her Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this Realm*: or likewiſe by their Oath, 3. *Jac. being bound to defend him and his lawful Succeſſors to the uttermoſt of their Power againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his Perſon, Crown and Dignity, by reaſon of any Sentence or Declaration flowing from the Pope, or otherwiſe, and to their beſt Endeavour to diſcover and make known to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors all Treaſons, and trayterous Conſpiracies, which they ſhall know, or hear to be againſt him or any of them.* Here you ſee all Subjects and every one to the *uttermoſt of their Power*, are bound to aſſiſt and defend the Kings Right and Prerogative, and that none can enter the Houſes of Parliament till actually they ſwear it: will it therefore from hence follow, that all and every one of his Majeſties Subjects, at leaſt ſuch as have entered the Houſes of Parliament, all and every one of them are for-ſworn, who have intended or attempted any thing beſides, or who intending or doing it hath not raiſed him to the higheſt degree and pitch of Honour, Glory and Power? In this caſe I am hopeful the *Obſervator*, like *Judah*, will be more favourable to himſelf and his Patrons, than he is in the other to his Sovereign: Who, before theſe new Statiſts, that ever wrote the Charge of a King, bound him to promote all and every one of his Subjects to all kind and higheſt Degree

of political and temporal Happineſs? Is it in the Power of the moſt puiſſant Monarch upon Earth to advance all his Subjects capable and deſerving men to the higheſt pitch of Happineſs and Honour? *Parcius iſta viris, &c.*

To ſhut up all that concerneth this firſt abſurd Conſequence drawn from this abuſed Maxim, I intreat the *Obſervator* to remember that Almighty God did never judge it fit to entruſt the People with their own Safety; but in a ſubordinate way, hath committed this *Truſt to his Anointed, his Vicegerent upon Earth*: from whence iſſueth this Conſequence, that *Salus Regis eſt ſalus populi*, The Safety of the King is the Safety of the People: as *Salus Animæ* is *ſalus Corporis*, the Safety of the Soul is the Safety of the Body. The Fathers judged it ſo; ſee *Juſtin Martyr quæſt. & reſp. ad Orthod. q.* 138. καὶ ὡς σύγκειται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, οὕτως καὶ ἡ βασιλεία σύγκειται ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν βασιλευομένων. This holy Father knew no other caſe of a Kingdom, than that the King is the Soul, and the Subjects the Body. Let the *Obſervator* judge then, where the Safety is moſt conſiderable: and learn from *Saluſt*, *Animi imperio, corporis ſervitio utimur*; or from *Tacitus*, *Nempe iis*, that is, *Imperatoribus, dii Imperium dedere, nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt.* And the Heathen will learn him to acknowledge, that the Honour and Safety of the King, his Glory, and entire Prerogative is the Tranſcendent ἀκμὴ of all Politicks, the paramont Law, that giveth Law to all Laws concerning private men, their Lives, Eſtate, and Honour; and that all Subjects are to promote the Sovereign Right and Prerogative to the utmoſt of their Power, as the publick Soul of the Kingdom, and the Breath of their Noſtrils.

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The ſecond Corollary, which the *Obſervator* deduceth out of this Principle, *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto*, is, *that it were ſtrange if the people ſubjecting themſelves to command ſhould aim at any thing but their own Good in the firſt and laſt place.* This Conſequence preſuppoſeth two Errors, the one is, that the people are the immediate Authors and Donors of Sovereignty, which we have already refuted: the other is, that the Conveyance of Sovereignty is by Truſt, and that in that Portion and proportion the people pleaſe, the error of which we will by God's grace diſcover in our third Queſtion. To take this off briefly, I ask of the *Obſervator*, that ſeeing God hath ordained *Rule and Subjection*, and directeth mankind to their greateſt Convenience by Government; and ſeeing God and Nature teach, and all do acknowledge that the *Good, Plenty, Peace, and Safety of the people* cannot be effected or attained to, except the King be proportioned to ſo *high a degree of Honour, Wealth, and Power, that as Father he may protect all, adminiſtrate Juſtice, ſecure from Oppreſſion and Sedition at home, and from Invaſion abroad*; and have Main tenance proportionable to theſe ends, whether or not in Order of Nature, in the firſt place it is neceſſary that *this Power, Honour, and Maintenance* be ſecured to the King, without which we cannot expect Safety, Peace, or Good to the Subject? Except we have made a Divorce betwixt our ſelves and Reaſon, we muſt grant this Truth. If you will truſt Saint *Chryſoſtom*, hear him ſpeak it upon *Rom.* 13. upon theſe words, *He is the Miniſter of God for good unto thee*, ὥστε συνεργὸς ἐστιν ἡμῖν καὶ βοηθὸς, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπέσταλται; ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοίνυν ἐστιν αἰδέσιμος, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπαστάλη, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πράγματι. In which words two things are

expreſſed; firſt, that the King is immediately ſent from God; the other is, that he is ſent for our Good; no Safety then for us without him, and for both Reſpects we are to honour him, for all Good which we have by our Induſtry is by Influence from his Government, and he is a co-worker with us, and auxiliary in it. If this be not enough, turn to him, upon the words, *Not only for Wrath but for Conſcience ſake*; where he ſaith, that the King is, εἰρήνης προξενος, καὶ οἰκονομίας πολιτικῆς, καὶ μυρία ἀγαθὰ ἅμα τῆς ἀρχῆς τούτων ταῖς πόλεσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀνέλης ἀυτὰ παντὰ οἰχήσεται, καὶ ἡ πόλεις, ἡ χωρία, ἐκ ἀγορὰ, ἐκ ἄλλο ὑδὲν ϛήσεται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀναλεαπήσεται, τῆς δυνατωτέρων τὸς ἀδενεστέρυς καταπινόντων. He is the procurer of Peace, and Baſe and bottom of all politick œconomy. Innumerable good things come by Princes Government to the Society of men; which if you take away, there can be no Cities, no Right to Lands or Revenues, no Houſe and Family can ſubſiſt, no Commerce and Trade can be had, all ſhall be overturned, the ſtronger devouring the weaker. To St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Suffrage joyn St. *Auguſtine tom. 9. tract. 6. in Joh. Tolle jura Imperatorum & quis audet dicere, mea eſt illa villa, aut meus eſt ille ſervus, aut domus hæc mea eſt?* and a little after, *Per jura Regum poſſidentur poſſeſſiones*: the reſult is this, if you take away the Right of Kings, none dare ſay, the Lands are mine, this Servant is mine, or I have Right to this Houſe. It is by the right of Kings that all our Rights and Poſſeſſions are ſecured. It is more than manifeſt then, that the Right of King and Subject, the Safety of King and Subject, are naturally conjoyned, and ſo intimately involved the one in the other, that in the moral Notion

they

they may be eſteemed *identically the ſame*, no leſs than Soul and Body make up one identical, perſonal Subſiſtence; or at leaſt, *ſe mutuò ponunt & tollunt*, deſtroy the Kings Right and Good, and with the ſame Act, the ſame blow, you deſtroy the Subjects too. If you provide not for the Safety of the King, you cannot poſſibly ſecure the Safety of the People. *What God hath conjoyned, let none put aſunder.* Let it never then again be ſpoken or heard by Chriſtians, that the good of the Subject is the *Alpha* and *Omega* in Government, and demandeth *by right the firſt and laſt place.*

The third Conſequence is this, *That the King looking upon the whole State, reflecting upon what Graces he hath granted or may grant to his People, he cannot merit of it, and what he hath granted, if it be for the good of his People, it hath proceeded but from his meer Duty.* Well, by the *Obſervator* we ſee the King is placed in no better condition than a *Servant*, nay, an *unprofitable Servant*, for when he has done all he can do, he has onely done his Duty. By theſe means, *Grace* is not a fit compellation for Kings; *Acts of Juſtice* he may do, but *no Acts of Grace. O miſera Regum ſors!* On the other part, the People are ſtated in that ſublime condition, that they may *ſupererogate* with their Prince, by doing many Acts of Bounty, Favour, and Grace. By this Aſſertion, a Prince is diſabled from doing any *courteſie* to his Subjects. Before this miſerable diſtempered Age, was it ever heard, but that it was the *greateſt happineſs* of a King, that he was able, and *his greateſt glory*, to oblige his People by Acts of *Grace*, *Bounty*, and *Courteſie?* But now the World is ſo turn'd topſie turvy, that when he has done all he is able, he hath onely diſcharged the duty of a *faithful and truſty Servant.* Turn the Tables, and then ſee what

what you will judge of the throw, Do not all we Subjects owe Duty to the King? Are we not tied to advance his Honour? Yet upon extraordinary Services we believe we can deserve well both of King and Countrey. Will you not, *Observator*, allow the King the like measure? This Conceit is a popular Deceit, and not virtually onely, but also really, destroys the ground of Beneficence in a King, and the duty of Gratitude in a Subject. By this it appeareth, that it is a naked, nay, an hypocritical Complement, when both Houses in Parliament, after Graces granted, present their humble thanks, and heartily acknowledge *His Majesties gracious Favours*. Must not the like hold betwixt a Father and his Family? And shall we by these grounds be constrained to acknowledge all the Acts of a Father to his Family, to be no better than Acts of meer Justice and Duty? In the Dialect of Scripture, and Heathen Writers, *Homer. Odyss. 9.* Kings are Fathers. And yet the *Observator* standeth not to say, *That the Father is more worthy than the Son in Nature, and the Son is wholly a Debtor to the Father, and can by no merit transcend his Duty, nor challenge any thing as due from his Father, for the Father doth all his Offices meritoriously, freely, and unexpectedly.* We will not be at pains now to examine this, onely I demand, if this hold according to his Judgment in a Father of a Family, how comes it to pass that it holds not *in Patre Patriæ*, in the Father of the Kingdom? The obligation to *Pater Patriæ*, to the Father of the Kingdom, is stronger, is straighter, than to *Pater Familiæ*, to our natural Father. And the School doth teach us, and all Divines besides, for ought I know, that we are bound to love the King *appreciativè*, by esteem, more than our selves, although we cannot do it *intensivè*, with

with the ſame intenſion, and degree of affection. *David*'s Subjects ſaid to him, *Thou ſhalt not go forth with us to battel, for thou art better than a thouſand of us*; that is, in ſound meaning, than all of us. The *Obſervator* hath a quirk or trick rather for this, *that the King is not a Father to his People taken univerſally but ſingly.* Nothing could be ſaid more abſurdly. I pray you, is not the Father of many Sons no leſs Father univerſally to all than to every one? Is not the King bound no leſs to protect all his Subjects *univerſally*, than to protect every one *ſeverally*, *ſingly*? Are not all bound no leſs *univerſally* than *ſingly*, to honour the King's ſacred Perſon, obey his ſacred Commands, and contribute to the maintenance of his Honour, Wealth, and Power, to aſſiſt and defend him in all Difficulties? If you will not acknowledge a ſubjection upon all *univerſally*, how can you tye the King to a protection of all *univerſally*? In Philoſophy this is moſt abſurd, for hereby you make *tot civitates in regno, quot ſubditos*, as many Kingdoms as there be particular and ſingle Subjects; becauſe the King and every Subject make up a perfect City or Kingdom. If it were not more abſurd in Divinity, and contrary to God's Ordinance, we would not plead much nor preſs much the Abſurdities of Philoſophy. *Saul* and *David* in the holy diction of Scripture are called Heads and Captains of all the Tribes and People of God. Let never theſe conſequences be more heard.

4. The fourth conſequence is as impious and abſurd as the other three; which is this, *That a Prince ought not to account it a ſtrength and profit to him, which is a loſs and waſting to the People*, (I agree to this with all my heart, but that which followeth I cannot reliſh) *nor ought he to think that periſheth to him which is granted*

ed to the People. This is moſt falſe: Hath not the King his own Right from Almighty God? Can he make it away without betraying Gods Right, and the Truſt he hath put upon him, he being God's Vicegerent onely and Feoffee in truſt? How can the Subject be free of Sacrilegious guiltineſs to take it from him, if laviſhly or inconſiderately he will make it away? This is not onely robbing of Sovereignty of its due, but *Divine uſurpation, and intruſion upon Almighty God.* What one hath by truſt from another, he cannot intitle another to it, till he have warrant from him who hath given the Truſt. That the King hath ſome right incommunicable to the Subject, is ſo manifeſt, that he that will deny it, muſt deny Scripture. Our Lord and Maſter in the Goſpel hath commanded to *Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſars, as unto God the things that are Gods.* This word ἀπόδοτε, *Render*, imports ſomething peculiar; nay, it hath more in it, that if we will detain it, if we have aſſumed it, or would aſſume it, that by Chriſts Precept we are to reſtore him to his Right again. This the word *Render* intimates and commands, and conſequently the King cannot part with it; and if the Subject hath uſurped upon this Right, it is high Sacrilege to detain it. In this ſenſe Kings, their Perſons, their Charge, their Right, their Authority, their Prerogative, are by Scripture, by Fathers, by Juriſts, called *Sacred*; becauſe by Gods ſacred Ordinance they are inherent in their Crowns, inſeparably adherent to their Scepters, which if he grant away, he is no more King, than the Body is a living Creature after the ſeparation of the Soul; and the Robbers and Cheaters of Kings out of theſe Rights are *Regicides.* Nor are theſe Prerogatives onely for the Excellency, Preheminency, and Honour

of

of the King above his Subjects, but alſo to enable him for actuating his high Charge to Gods Glory and the Subjects good. Theſe, as we ſhall by Gods Grace ſpeak, *Quæſt.* 4. are as the Lawyers ſpeak, *In indiviſibili poſita, quæ diſtrahi non poſſunt, alienari non poſſunt minui non poſſunt*; that are ſo indiviſible in themſelves, and naturally and intrinſecally inherent in the Crown, in his Sovereignty and Supremacy, that they cannot be made away, or ſo communicated to the Subject, *ut defluat radix ſupremæ poteſtatis*, to diveſt himſelf of them, *ad minuendam Majeſtatem*, to leſſen Sovereign Majeſty, although by Truſt and delegate Power the Execution may be entruſted to others, *ad minuendam ſolicitudinem*, to eaſe him of unſupportable burthen. Theſe are fitly reſembled by the Royal Crown, from which if you take away the leaſt part, you ſpoil it ſo in its nature and ſhape, that it is no more a Crown; as King *James* of bleſſed Memory, and others have well expreſſed.

By what is ſaid, I refer it to the Judgment of any that hath reaſon or common ſenſe, whether or not it be true, that a King cannot make away to the Subject any of his Right without diſadvantage; for by what we have ſaid, it is more than apparent, that he hath a Right perſonally inherent in himſelf and his Succeſſors, as a *depoſitum*, a truſt from God, which he cannot part with, without betraying the Truſt God hath committed to him, with which the Subject cannot meddle, without Sacrilege in the higheſt kind; and which cannot be done, without diſabling Sovereignty from doing that Service to God and his People, with which he hath charged him.

Leſt any miſtake us, I reſume what before I have ſaid, That we maintain not that our King by this Right

Right from Almighty God hath *Dominium deſpoticum* or *herile*, we plead onely for *paternum*; that is, that as the Subject cannot without Sacrilege, Royal and Divine Uſurpation, trench upon Sacred Prerogative of the King; no more can the King by any Right from Almighty God trench upon the *Liberty of the Perſon, and the Propriety of the Goods* of his Subjects, without preſuppoſal of a *lawful act of Juriſdiction*: That is, if any or many of his Subjects tranſgreſs againſt him, his Laws, or common Equity, he may commit their Perſons, take from them their Lives, ſeize upon their whole, or a part of their State, proportionable to the demerit of their Offence. Our Gracious Sovereign, bleſſed be God for it, will never wave that ſaying of *Seneca's*, *Imperium unius, Proprietas ſingulorum*: The Sacred Prerogative is the Kings, but it derogateth not from the Liberty and Property of the Subject: it muſt be entirely ſecured, that it may ſecure our Liberty and Property. How unequal and partial are we to think the King may *prodigally waſte away his Prerogative*, and we may *lawfully invade it*, becauſe no Grant made to his People periſheth to him, and yet upon the other part will maintain, that *the King cannot trench upon our Liberty and Property* without higheſt Tyranny and Oppreſſion? *Medio tutiſſimus ibis*. Hold both, practiſe both; Let the King have his, and the People their Right; and Peace ſhall be upon *Iſrael*. King and People have their proper and peculiar, and yet ſeveral and diſtinct Rights. What Law? what Right? what Reaſon is it? that the King may, or ſhould part with his ſacred Right, and yet warrants the People to preſerve their Rights, nay, to invade and challenge the King's Right? It feareth me, that high Sacrilege, robbing God his Anointed, and Holy Church, is not the

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leaſt crying ſin that hath brought upon us theſe Miſeries; and many good men fear, that Kings giving too much way to Harpyes to rob God and his Church, have made a furious multitude to invade the Sovereignty of Kings, to teach Kings to be more zealous and careful to preſerve Chriſt and his Churches Rights.

Let us remember that *God and true Policy* have ſo inſeparably united and conjoyned the Intereſt of King and People, that they be almoſt altogether the ſame; upon which neceſſarily it followeth, that the people ought not to account it a game or ſtrength to them, which they obtain and acquire by a Loſs and waſt of his Prerogative; nor ought they to think that periſhed to them, which is gained to him; and by which his Prerogative is ſtrengthened, he more enabled to protect, and they the more ſecured in ſafety to enjoy Liberty and Propriety, with peace and plenty.

To reaſon *à ſalute populi*, from the Good and Gain of the people, to the weakning or deſtroying of Royalty and Sovereignty, is ſophiſtical; it is that Sophiſm they call, *à dicto ſecundum quid*, or *à limitato ad abſolutum*; to reaſon from one end of Government to the Deſtruction of the other, which is more excellent, and which effecteth and worketh the other, is totally to overthrow Royalty and Government. The compleat and adequate end of Monarchical Government, is as we have ſaid, to preſerve the Kings Prerogative entire, and the Liberty and Good of the Subject too. If any man reaſon after this Form, in the caſe betwixt the head and the body, the Wife and the Husband, he will ſoon diſcover the Fallacy of this Sophiſm. It is right, juſt, neceſſary, and honourable for a King to proportion his Laws and Government for the Good and Safety of his People; and on the other part, it

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is as juſt, as neceſſary for the people, to hold that *Salus Regis ſuprema lex eſto*, the ſafety of the King, of his Sovereignty and Right, ought to be the paramont Law, without which no ſafety can be to the publick State, nor to any private mans well-being.

If ſuch Sophiſms as theſe were confined within School-walls, for the exerciſe of Wits, it were no great matter; but ſuch abuſed Principles clogged with ſuch paradoxal Conſequences, have a mighty Influence upon the multitude, and will make them aſſume to themſelves, or commit to their Repreſentatives an arbitrary Power, which placed in a wrong hand, cannot chuſe but produce monſtrous Miſchiefs. Theſe Maxims with their abſurd Conſectaries embolden them, authorize them to pull his Crown from his Head, wreſt his Sword out of his hands, ſeize his Ships, Forts, Magazines, Ammunitions and Revenues, if they apprehend it fit for their own good: It will make them break thorow all inferiour Laws, that no more ſhall we have or know for Law, but what it ſhall pleaſe them to unfold at pleaſure out of the Cloſet of their Breaſts. And if this power be in ſome few, or in many, who are back't by the greater part of the people, having a domineering power over the Judgment and Affections of the people, gulled with fair and falſe promiſes, and vain expectation of a glorious Reformation in Church and State: What perſon how innocent, how well-deſerving ſoever, can be ſecured in the Liberty of his Perſon, and Propriety of Life and Goods? Shall it not be a ſufficient and juſt warrant, to commit innocent men to *Jeremiah*'s Dungeon, to prove them guilty at Leiſure, becauſe they are diſaffected to the *Good Cauſe?* Shall it not be juſt to take from men, what Portion, what Moity of their State and Revenues

nues they will, and ſequeſtrate them for the publick, becauſe they cannot confide in them; and the *Good Cauſe* muſt be maintained upon the Eſtates of Biſhops, Malignants, and Delinquents? God forgive you. Remember there is a God in Heaven will call *Ahab* to an account for *Naboth*'s Vineyard; repent in time and make Satisfaction, before the evil day come upon you. May they not by the ſame Grounds diſarm whom they will, *to weaken Gods Enemies?* Thoſe Maxims and Sophiſms will make way to Rebellion, to murther the moſt innocent, the moſt deſerving men. It will at laſt come at that, except God and Sovereignty right it, that it will be a crime to have Wealth, and Treaſon to be faithful and loyal to King, Church, and State. This Maxim with the annexed Sophiſms, is enough to deſtroy King and Kingdom, Church and State, and at laſt ſend the Authors, and thoſe are ſet on by them packing to Hell: from which good Lord deliver them and all of us.

But what may be the proper, natural, and innocent ſenſe of the words, *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto?* No doubt they have a good and juſt ſenſe, if they be not racked upon Tenters beyond their juſt Extent. It was, as we have ſaid, and as it appeareth by *Cicero de Legibus*, one of the Laws of the twelve Tables, and a paramount Law too. But it is only *tant' amonte*, as *Salus publica ſuprema lex eſto*, let the publick Safety of all be the paramount Law. It is tranſcendent in this Reſpect, that Government firſt and principally regardeth the common Good and Safety of the whole; and in the next place it intendeth the private Good of every private ſingular one ſubordinately. *Conſervatio ſpeciei, eſt potior conſervatione individui*; the Preſervation of the ſpece and whole, is intended more by Nature, than the preſervation of any individual.

The word *Populus* in classical Authors and its ordinary use is more than *Plebs*; *Plebs* is ἀπὸ τῶν πλειόνων, a derivative from *many*; but *Populus* is ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν πλειόνων; id est, *à multo pluribus*. *Plebs* comprehends only the vulgar and baser sort of the Society; but *Populus*, *omnes ordines hominum complectitur*, comprehends in its extent all men in the Kingdom, of what Condition or Quality soever. *SS. Plebi scitum de jure natural. apud. Justinianum. Nicholaus Porretus ad 2. Epigramma Martial. in Cornucopia.* By which it is easily conceived, that in this *Salus populi*, in this *Salus publica*, *Salus Regis* is necessarily involved.

The word *Publicum*, as *Latin* Authors well observe, is *à populo* and *euphoniæ gratia*, that it may sound the better in our Ears, we pronounce it *Publicum*, not *Populicum*, so that *publick and popular* in their original Sense are equivalent. *Populares actiones* in the Diction of Law, are the same that *Publicæ actiones*; *Rubric. de popular. action. actio. P. L. eum qui SS. in popularibus de jurejur. P.* and *popularia sacra*, if we will trust *Festus* and *Labeo*, were those solemn Festivities that were kept by all the People, Governour and governed, different from those Solemnities which were peculiar to some Families only, as *Fornicalia* and *Palilia*. By which it is manifest, that *Salus Regis* in this Law is necessarily involved and implyed, as well as *Salus subditorum*; and you are not by the one to exclude the other. *Ulpian* the great, *Jureconsult. L. 1. §. hujus studii de Justitia & jur. P.* defineth *Publicum*, *quod ad Statum Rei Romanæ pertinet*. But in that that is private he defineth the contrary way, that it is that that belongeth *ad singulorum utilitatem*, to the singular and peculiar good of every one singly, as *Cajus* saith, *L. 1. de rer. divis. L. 1. P. tit. 8. Publicum res nullius in bonis esse; contra quæ sunt singulorum*, and *M. Terentius Va-*

ro hath obſerved, *Aliud eſſe populi univerſi perſonarum, aliud ſingulorum, & quod populus eſt in ſua Potestate* (underſtand him to ſpeak where Democracy is the ſupreme Government) *ſinguli in illius.* With what is ſaid, ſee how it can ſubſiſt, that *Salus populi* is to be conceived of the ſafety of the Subject, without reſpect to, or conſideration of the ſafety of the Governours. In *Latine* Authors the ſenſe is this; *Salus publica ſuprema lex eſto.* In *Ulpian's* Senſe it is, *Salus rei Romanæ ſuprema lex eſto.* The ſame is the ſignification of the *Greek* word δῆμος, for where *Juſtinian, SS. Plebiſcitum de jure naturæ gentium,* explaineth the word *Populus* to contain in it all Orders and Conditions of men within the Empire; his Paraphraſt uſeth the word δῆμος, which cometh from the word δεῖν to bind together; that δῆμος is *quaſi* δεσμὸς, a Chain or tye, and no tye to keep a Multitude together in one, without Government and Governours. I do not deny but the word δῆμος ſometimes in *Greek* ſignifieth the meaner ſort of the people, and *Homer* and others take δημόσιος for an ordinary common man, to which they oppoſe βασιλῆα καὶ ἄνδρα, a King, and Nobleman: and the *Latines* ſometime uſe the word, *a popular man* for *a Plebeian man,* or a man of low Condition. So *Plautus, Præſtat divitem & popularem eſſe, quam nobilem & mendicum.* Notwithſtanding in its proper, firſt, and moſt uſed Senſe, it comprehendeth all men and Conditions of men, not excluding Governours more than Subjects; and ſo is to be taken in the Law of the 12 Tables, *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.*

Let us come and examine *Literam Legis,* (as the Juriſts ſpeak) the Letter of the Law. *Salus populi* I find here is *Lex,* a *Law*; and *Suprema Lex, the paramount and tranſcendent Law*: then it cannot be racked further, nor wind up to a higher pitch, than to be a

Law, and a ſupreme Law. The Subſtantive is *Lex*, *the Law*; the Epithet and Adjective is *Suprema*, *the ſupreme Law*. Then this Law of *Salus populi*, of the ſafety of the People, is only a Law which is ſupreme, and above all other Laws; it doth not trench upon the Prerogative of the *Suprema poteſtas*, upon Sovereignty which giveth the Law. Tranſcendent it is above all Laws, but ſeeing it is only *Lex*, a *Law*, it is not tranſcendent above *Rex*, the Sovereign in a Monarchy. To interpret it thus, it giveth to the Law an heterogeneous Senſe, and is *de genere in genus*, leaping from one kind to another. Do not our Adverſaries acknowledge, that during the Democratical Government of the people of *Rome*; the people had *Summam Majeſtatem*, *ſummam poteſtatem*, and *Legibus ſolutam*; had the ſupreme Power, that *Majeſtas* was *populi*, the People were ſo much Maſter of the Law, that they might *abrogare*, *derogare*, *obrogare*, ſtop the Execution of any Law, take from it, add to it, or totally abrogate it at their pleaſure? And will they be ſo unjuſt to force this upon us in a Monarchy, with a contrary Senſe deſtructive of Sovereignty and Supremacy in a King?

If we will be pleaſed to look more narrowly upon the true meaning of this Law, *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto*, it will be ſo far from putting a curb upon Sovereignty, whereſoever it be fixed, in one, few, or many, and licenſe the People to right Sovereignty upon real and fanſied Exigents in Neceſſity, that upon the other part it will advance Sovereignty. It is moſt true that all Laws ſhould be proportioned to the publick Good of the Sovereign and People; and ſo this Law is a tranſcendent Law, for it is found intrinſecally in all Laws, as the tranſcendent Affections, *unum*, *verum*, and *bonum*, are found intrinſecally in all and every

Entity.

Entity. But this is not that which is meant in *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto*; The meaning is, that the Kingdom or State, not only poſſibly and probably, but really and exiſtently may be ſuch, that the Sovereign muſt exerce and exerciſe an arbitrary Power, not ſtand upon private mens Intereſt, or tranſgreſſing of Laws, made for the private good of Individuals; but for the Preſervation of it ſelf and the publick may break thorow all Laws. This caſe may be, and ſometimes is, as when ſudden foreign Invaſion, or ſtrong home-bred Sedition threaten King and Kingdom, State and Republick with preſent and almoſt unavoidable Ruine. As you ſee in a natural Body, the Phyſician will rather cut off a gangrened Member, and the Patient reſolve to endure it, than that that Cancer corrupt and deſtroy the whole Body.

Look upon the *Romans* practice (which the Juriſts ſay is *Optimus legis interpres*) and you will find this is the juſt Senſe of the Law. Do not *Livie* and *Dionyſius Halicarn.* tell us, that it was ordinary to the *Romans*, in caſe of extream danger, to chuſe a *Dictator*, (the greateſt Sanctuary they had in all Extremities) who according to his own Prudence, Arbitrement, and Diſcretion, was to command and do what he thought fit to be done, and to act for the Preſervation of himſelf and the State? His Commiſſion runs at large; *Videat dictator ne quid detrimenti Reſpublica capiat*; which *Videat* was not a charge given, for Diſcharge of which he was not accountable to any, but a full Sovereign intire Commiſſion to rule in Peace and War, in Life and Death, over Perſons and Eſtate, Goods and Honour, without Controulment, Reluctation, or Contradiction; the rule being none elſe but *Arbitrium boni viri.* He was *ſubordinate to none*: none was *co-ordinate* with him; nor after the expiring of ſix Months was

he accountable to Senate, Conſuls, Tribunes, any, many, or all; nor controulable by Man, by Law, by Statute, by Cuſtom, or what elſe in that kind is imaginable.

What can be more apparent then, than that this Law was never made of purpoſe to warrant People in a real or fancied exigent of neceſſity, to riſe againſt their Prince? but to allow to Sovereign Power, whereſoever fixed, a more tranſcendent Power in the caſe of extreme Danger and Difficulty. Nature teacheth, that in Neceſſity this is equitable. If any attempt to wound the Head, Arms and Hands, Legs and Thighs will defend with the loſs of themſelves, before the Head be wounded. If a Canker be in Hand or Foot, before it Gangrene the whole Body, we will condeſcend to the cutting of them off.

In this ſenſe which we have explained, *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto*, is a Law that hath no Iniquity in it, but hath a good, juſt, and equitable Senſe. Yet it is not to day onely, or yeſterday, that this Maxim hath been abuſed to work much miſchief. This miſ-underſtood Principle or Law put Chriſt to death. The *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, *High-Prieſts* and *Sanhedrim* avouched, *It was neceſſary that one ſhould dye for the People*; the High-Prieſt ſpoke it, not knowing how in a Prophetical ſenſe it was neceſſary, but meaning that *Salus populi* required it; the whole Land, and all of them were in danger. And in this caſe, with the influence of this Law, it was enough to alledge *their authority and unanimous conſent*. They were not tied to proofs. They had a Law of which they were Interpreters; or if not, they had a *Legiſlative power*, by which for *Salus Populi* Chriſt muſt dye. When *Pilate* found him innocent, their anſwer was ſufficient, *If he were not a Malefactor we would not have delivered him*

unto

unto thee. Salus populi, or nothing else was the Law, the *Paramount Law*, the ἀρχὴ of all Politicks, to which *Pilate*'s Power delegate from the *Romans* was subservient. But what was the effect of this work, wrought by this *Paramount Law?* It wrought the utter extirpation of them and their Posterity. The over-ruling voices of the High-Priests, Scribes, and *Sanhedrim*, forced *Pilate* to crucifie the God of Glory against his heart, his Conscience. This was high Injustice in him, he acknowledged Christ's Innocency, and knew that for Envy they delivered him up: *Joh.* 19. 6. *Matth.* 27. 18. He knew besides, that without his Authority he could not be condemned. If we could or would seriously look upon this Example, and make right Use of it, it would deter us from making too much of such deceitful and deceiving Maxims, which in the end will lead us to our total destruction and overthrow.

It was this *Salus populi*, that made *Saul* to spare, against Gods command, *Agag*, and the *Amalekites*. It was this that seduced *Zedekiah*, made his Lords overrule and over-awe him, and clap up *Jeremiah* in the Dungeon. It is a great mistake in which a great and Learned man in this Age doth gather, from the words of a King to his Nobles; *Behold he is in your power, for what is the King that he can do any thing against you?* That the Kings of *Judah* by some Power equal to them or above them, might be counter-manded. The expression is *de facto*, not *de jure*, intimating that the good King was so over-awed by his Lords, that he could not protect the Lords Servant, the Prophet *Jeremiah*, although he knew he was bound to it, and willing too: When a good King is put in such a case, the state of King and Kingdom are in greatest danger.

There is enough ſaid to diſcover the grand Impoſtures of this abuſed Maxim, *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto*; for by what is ſaid, it appeareth, 1. That it is not to be conceived in that large ſenſe, as if all Governours and Government were principally for the good of thoſe are governed; it holds not in Marital, nor Deſpotical, nor in Royal Government by Conqueſt. 2. Next it taketh as granted (in the ſenſe of our Adverſaries) that the compleat and adequate end of Government is *Salus populi*, which is an Errour, for it is *Salus Regis & populi*, and *Salus Regis* hath the firſt place, without which *Salus populi* cannot be. It hath the Prerogative like to the firſt Table, and *Salus populi* as the ſecond. To deſtroy the Prerogative and Royal Power, is to bring ruine to our ſelves. 3. Thirdly, it is ſpoken *in ordine ad alias Leges, non ad Regem*, in order to other Laws, not to prove the King the *Extract of the People*, or that by them he is coerced; But that in caſe of extreme neceſſity the King for his own and the Kingdoms Safety may break thorow all other Laws, as he thinketh fit in his Diſcretion to preſerve himſelf and Kingdom. 4. Fourthly, in the ſenſe our Adverſaries uſe it, it cannot but diſquiet King and Kingdom, upon real or fancied Fears and Jealouſies. 5. Fifthly, miſapplied and miſunderſtood, it hath been the Mother of much miſchief. 6. Laſtly, let every Subject and Chriſtian within his Majeſties Kingdoms conſider and remember how he is bound by Nature and Grace to *Salus Regis*, to maintain the Kings Right, Priviledges, and Prerogatives, beſides that all of any Quality, and the better ſort have taken an Oath to maintain it. With which how any can diſpenſe, I profeſs I ſee not, I know not.

We need not ſpend much time or pains in taking off that other abuſed Principle, *A King cannot be with-*

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ut the People, but the People may be without a King, with its Conſequence, *Ergo*, the People are more excellent than the King; for what is already ſaid taketh away the ſtrength of this Argument and Conſequence; for if they will reſolve their Antecedent thus, or frame their Argument thus, *The People may be without a Governour or Government*, Ergo, &c. The Antecedent is moſt falſe, and ſo can bring home no Concluſion at all. We have proved already, better not to be at all, than to be without Government; and for this cauſe God fixed Government in one, and appointed a Governour, before ever there were People in the World to be governed. *Cicero* doth tell us this, *lib. 3. de Legibus. Nihil porro tam aptum eſt ad Jus conditionemque Naturæ, quam Imperium, ſine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum univerſum genus ſtare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipſe mundus poteſt.* I know what the Sectary and Jeſuit will rejoyn, the People may be under Ariſtocracie or Democracie in a happy condition, *Ergo* without Monarchy or a King. I do not blame Ariſtocracie or Democracie as unlawful Governments, God forbid, for then all their acts of lawful Government could not chuſe but be ſinful; but that they are univocal ſpecies of Government with Monarchy, I can never be induced to believe, (as by Gods Grace we will demonſtrate it, *Quæſt.* 2.) Governments they are, but defective; If man had never fallen into Sin, Ariſtocracie had never been known, nor Democracie ſeen in the World, nor were they at firſt: It was the corruption of Monarchy produced them into the world. Monarchy by God in Scripture is much countenanced, magnified; of Ariſtocracie or Democracie you have not one Word in Holy Writ to commend them. That a People under Ariſtocracie or Democracie may have ſome tolerable ſubſiſtence, I deny it not, but that they

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can be in an happy condition I doubt of it; especially for the Church, whose condition can never be happy under any Government but Monarchy: for proof I appeal to all by-gone Ages in the Christian Church, and pray our Adversaries to shew us, where the Church is in Plenty and Honour, where Aristocracy is the Government. In Scripture it is prophecied, *Ecce Reges erunt nutritii tui, That Kings shall be the Nurse-fathers of the Church*, there is no word to that sense for any Government besides Monarchy. If they make use of this Argument to prefer Aristocracy or Democracy to Monarchy, there reasoning is not sure, and concludes not; no more than when I reason thus, a man may walk without Legs of bone and flesh, for he may walk on wooden Legs, if he hath lost his Natural Legs with the blow of a Canon, or by a Gangrene; or he may walk upon Crutches if he be a Cripple, *Ergo*, wooden legs and artificial, or Crutches, are better than the natural legs and feet man is born with.

In brief, no Society can subsist without Government, the best of Governments is Monarchy; and People cannot be happy, except the King and Monarchy be proportioned to that height of Power, Honour, and Wealth, as He be able to secure Himself and Subjects from all Mischief, Iniquity, and Disorder; and the Good, Safety, and Happiness of the Subject is naturally and necessarily involved in the sacred Right and Prerogative of the King, That whosoever conceiveth that the Good of the People can subsist with lessening and weakening the Right of the King, is as if he should imagine to see the Branches of a Tree bud, flourish, and bring forth Fruit, when they are broken off from the root; or to see a River of running living Water divided from the Source and Fountain of living Water, or to apprehend that the Ray of the Sun can inlighten,

lighten, when it is ſeparated from the Body of the Sun. Let never a King imagine his Happineſs can ſubſiſt or conſiſt without the Happineſs, Peace, and Plenty of his Subjects; and let not us that are Subjects imagine that we can be happy, or preſerve our Right, our Liberty, our Property, if we account not the Lords Anointed the breath of our Noſtrils, and value his Right, His Prerogative, at a higher rate than our Lives. Theſe are by God and Nature ſo involved mutually one in another, that without deſtruction to both they cannot be put aſunder.

CHAP. XVII.

A King is bound to be as eminent in Sanctity, as He is excellent and high in Power.

THere be a great many more of theſe new-State-deviſed Principles, with which our Antimonarchical Sectaries intoxicate the Vulgar; as that *Protection and Subjection are of equal extent*; *That a mixture and temperature of the three proper Species of Government, is the beſt of Governments*; (which, if it be not rightly underſtood, is a moſt dangerous Poſition, and in the ſenſe many conceive it, it is not *Temperamentum Regiminis*, but *Turbamentum*) That *Plus vident oculi quàm oculus*; That *Rex eſt univerſis minor, ſingulis major*; That *the Charter of Nature intitles us to our defence againſt Kings*; That *Rex eſt propter populum*; That *a King at his Coronation ſweareth and covenanteth with his Subjects, which if he perform not, he is puniſhable, dethronable*; That in a Monarchy, *The Legiſlative Power is communicable to the Subject, and is not radically in So-*

Sovereignty in one, but in more; That *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari & approbari debet*; and a great many more; all which, by Gods help, we ſhall examine in the ſubſequent Queſtions, as every one of them offereth it ſelf in its own proper place. We now come ſhortly to point at the great Charge of the King, as we have before proved the Excellency of his Sacred Charge and Perſon.

What we have ſaid of the Excellency of Kings, that they are the derivatives of God, from him by generation, his firſt-born, God's upon Earth, *&c.* If it be rightly weighed, it will humble them in the preſence of God, in their own eſteem, and not ſuffer them to ſwell in Pride; it tieth them to a proportionable Sanctity and eminency in Holineſs and Integrity, as far in degree above the Ordinary, as they are exalted in State and Honour above the Sons of men. *Iſocrates* writing to *Nicocles*, ſaith to him, χρὴ προσέχειν τὸν νῦν ὅπως ὁσόνπερ ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν ἄλλων προέχεις, τοσοῦτον καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς αὐτῶν διοίσεις. The ſenſe is the ſame we have expreſſed already, the higher in Honour, they are tied to a higher perfection in Virtue. Saint *Auſtin* ſaith well, *Tom.* 8. *enarrat. in Pſal.* 137. *Quantò ſublimitas altior eſt, tantò periculoſior eſt. Ideoque Reges quantò ſunt in majori ſublimitate terrenâ, tanto magis humiliari Deo debent.* Kings, as related to men, are *Gods*, in order to Almighty God they are *frail and mortal men*, *Pſal.* 82. 6. They are gods on Earth, yet onely gods of the Earth; and are no leſs, if not more accountable to God than any other men whatſoever. *He trieth their works, ſearcheth out their Counſels*; and if they judge not aright, *Horribly and ſpeedily he will come upon them; a ſharp judgment ſhall be to them that are in High places; Mercy will ſoon pardon the meaneſt, but mighty men ſhall be mightily tormented,* (Wiſd. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.) For,

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he who is Lord over all ſhall fear no man's perſon, neither ſhall he ſtand in awe of any man's Greatneſs, for he hath made ſmall and great, and careth for all alike. No Difference there is betwixt a Prince and a Peaſant except only in this, that as the Prince is higher than all, ſo his Crime and Sin is above all, and his Puniſhment will be proportioned to the like and anſwerable Height.

Princes being derived immediately from God, and with that honour to be the firſt-born Children of God, and Sons of the moſt high; what Meaſure of Holineſs, what Degree of Righteouſneſs is required in them, ſo highly advanced? They ſhould *be holy, as their heavenly Father is holy*; They *ſhould be perfect, as their Father in Heaven is perfect*; and this not only in their private Converſation as *Chriſtians*, but alſo in their publick Government as *Fathers of the Kingdom, and Nurſe-fathers of the Church.* Nothing addeth more to the Diſgrace of a wicked man, than when we reflect upon him, as deſcended from a noble and high Stem. *Solomon* ſaith, *Prov.* 16. 12. *It is an Abomination for Kings to commit Wickedneſs*: and *the fear of the Lord is the Glory of the King.* No Foundation of a King ſo ſure as Obedience to him that made the King. Nothing more dangerous in a King than Rebellion againſt God. Happy are Kings when they reſolve with *David*, *Pſal.* 85. 8. *I will hearken what the Lord will ſay unto me.*

But above all, Kings are bound to advance Piety and that both in their private and publick Devotions, and in their publick Government. They ought to be more frequent in their private Devotions than any elſe, and in the publick to be moſt reverent in their Geſtures, that their practice in Piety, in Devotion, in private, in publick may be exemplary:

Regis

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

This Duty they owe to God as *professores fidei*, but they are bound to another, as *propugnatores fidei*, that is, to see that the Purity of Faith and Worship be preserved with that Solemnity and Decency of sacred Places, sacred Things, sacred Persons, sacred Gestures, as God hath prescribed, and the holy Catholick Church hath practised and allowed. The Preservation of the sacred Right and Prerogative royal is that secureth and preserveth the Right and Liberty of the Subject: and it is the maintaining and preserving of God's and holy Church's Right that preserveth Kings and their Crowns. Happy is the King who with *David* can say, *Psal.* 26. 8. *Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thy House, and the place where thine Honour dwelleth*: upon this he may with *David* confidently pray, *vers.* 9. *Gather not my Soul with Sinners, nor my Life with bloody men.* If the King's delight be in the *Sanctuary of the Lord*, although Trouble fall upon him, yet *Help will come to him out of the Sanctuary*, that will save both *him and his Crown*, *Psal.* 20. The highest Honour, the greatest Happiness that ever *David* attained to, was to bring back again the Ark of God, to leave a great Treasure for building of the Temple, 1 *Chron.* 12. 15. 28. and to raise the Church, and establish the Worship and Order in it's height of Perfection, 1 *Chron.* 24. 25, 26. when he finished this Work, he rejoyced more than ever. Then he said, *Psal.* 84. 10. *A day in thy Courts is better than a thousand elsewhere; it was better be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, than to dwell in the Tents of Wickedness.* It was this that made God send to his King *Deliverance out of his Troubles*, *Psal.* 18. *verse* 16. It was this that established his House and Kingdom for ever: it was this

this that crowned him with a Crown of pure Gold here, and of immortal Glory in Heaven.

Kings at their Coronation offer their Crowns, Scepters, and Swords to God at his Altar, and receive them from thence; the one Ceremony ſignifieth that their Sovereignty cometh to them immediately from God; the other ſignifieth that they offer all firſt for the ſervice of God: It is a Vow or Dedication of themſelves and their Power for the Advancement of Gods Glory: To this add, that this is ſolemnly ſworn by them, to maintain the Purity of the Faith, and Worſhip, and the Priviledges and Rights of holy Church; and laſtly, all is ſealed with the receiving of the Sacrament at the Altar: What then can free Kings from theſe Ties? And how fearful a thing is it, for them to be principal Actors, or acceſſary to bad Counſels and Courſes, to give up a Church, or to wrong Chriſt and his Rights?

There be a great many that practiſe *Machiavel*'s Politicks, affirming Princes are no more tyed to Church and Religion, than as both of them are ſubordinate and ſubſervient to the politick Government, and good Temporal: Theſe are truly Atheiſts, who, *Jeroboam* like, care not at all for God nor Religion, who abuſe them to their own private ends; they may for a ſhort time flouriſh, but in the end God will root out them and their Poſterity, and their Memory ſhall be had in Execration, as *Pilate* is remembred in the Creed, and *Judas* recorded in the Goſpel.

There be others who ſeem more moderate, whoſe Counſels are no leſs pernicious, becauſe they ſeem to ſpeak in a favourable and more ſpecious way, like to the Devil, transforming himſelf into an Angel of Light: theſe adviſe Kings to maintain a Worſhip, an Order, a Church, but that it is not beſt to be too ſump-

ſumptuous and prodigal in the Maintenance, or endowing the Church richly; nor is it neceſſary punctually, and preciſely to adhere to all Gods Ordinances; and in ſome caſes, ſay they, a Prince at ſome Times, at ſome Exigences, may give way to the undoing of ſome Ordinances of God and Chriſt, he may permit ſome of the Beauty and Solemnity of the Worſhip to be eclipſed, deveſt the Church and Churchmen of ſome Priviledges and Rights, which by *immemorial Poſſeſſion* they and their Pedeceſſors have enjoyed, and to which, beſides Dedication and Conſecration, the Church is by all poſitive Civil Law and Right entituled no leſs, (if not more) than Noblemen, Gentlemen, Corporations, or any Subject or Subjects whatſoever. Theſe Counſels for a time may prevail, and the Church may be a little for a little time ſuppreſſed and depreſſed, but if God have Mercy in Store for that Kingdom, it will not continue long. Theſe *Achitophels* tell Kings, that if *Moſes*'s ten Commandments, the Apoſtles twelve Articles of the Creed, and the ſix Petitions of the Lord's Prayer be preſerved, it skilleth not for other things, whether Biſhop or no Biſhop, whether good Chriſtians preach and do miniſterial Acts, or only men in ſacred Orders, authoriſed by Conſecration and Impoſition of hands, whether any Solemnity in the publick Worſhip or not, whether in ſacred Church conſecrated, or in a private Houſe or Barn, whether Chriſt have a Patrimony, or his Servants be allowed only a Competency at the Diſcretion of Lay-men, *&c.* Theſe Counſels and Courſes if they be not repented, forſaken, and the Church righted, will prove deſtructive to Kings, to their Crowns, to their Poſterity, and to their Authors and Abettors. King *Saul* for ought we read, did not reſtrain nor poſſeſſe the Worſhip he found, nor took from their

Prieſts

Prieſts what was their due, but it is manifeſt he did neglect God and his Church, his Worſhip, and his Servants, had leſs Eſteem of God's Servants than of any of his Subjects beſides, and yet this is puniſhed with the Forfeiture of Crown and Kingdom to him and his Poſterity, and God provideth a man, a King according to his Heart, to right the Church, to order the Service aright, which eſtabliſhed his Kingdom and Crown for ever. The Church was the *Alpha* and *Omega* of his Government; he conſecrated the beginning of his peaceable Reign with bringing home the Ark; he ſpent the moſt of his Reign in ordering and eſtabliſhing the Service of God with it's Solemnity, and ended his Life and Reign exhorting *Solomon* to do the like, to build the Temple, and leaving by Legacy a great immenſe Treaſure conſecrated to this purpoſe.

If any will look upon theſe Counſellors, he will find that they have a mighty Zeal and Care of their own Honour and Wealth; how much they remit their Zeal towards God and his Houſe, they intend it as much for themſelves and what concerneth their private: they will not willingly dwell but *in Houſes of Cedar*, and can ſee *the Ark of God within Curtains*; this maketh them that they can ſuffer the Church to be ſpoiled, if by her Spoils they or theirs can be enriched; Chriſtians they cannot be, whatſoever they profeſs, they are in a contrary, a contradictory way to Chriſt; of him it was ſaid, *The Zeal of thine Houſe hath eaten me up*; of them it is verified, *that their Zeal hath eaten up the houſe of God.* If theſe men can enjoy their own, make up a ſtate upon the Ruines of the Church, or better a prior eſtate, they care not although Levites uſurp upon Prieſts, Presbyters upon Biſhops, and Chriſt and his Patrimony be both put

out of the World: Ten ſhekels of Silver and a Sute of Apparel, *Micah*'s *allowance*, *Judges* 17. 10. is enough and too much for the beſt of God and Chriſt's Servants: All in the end will prove *Aurum Tholoſanum*, like the collop the Eagle brought from the Altar to feed her young ones, ſo much Fire came with it that it conſumed the Neſt and the young ones too.

When the Church of God is in this diſtreſs, it is not onely ſin to be acceſſary to theſe Counſels and Courſes, but ſuch as may and are able to prevent theſe miſchiefs and do it not, God will charge them with it. Some there be who profeſs that they like not the courſe againſt the Church, but for reaſon of State way muſt be given to the current of the ſtream, and a fit opportunity waited to right what was amiſs; I will not ſearch the hearts of ſuch men, I leave them to him *who trieth the reins, and knoweth our thoughts afar off*: onely let me put them in mind, that ſins of Omiſſion, of neceſſary Duties are high ſins in the balance of the Sanctuary; *Meroz* is curſed that came not out to help the Lord: and *Matth.* 25. They are to be condemned in the laſt Day who fed not Chriſt when he was hungry, no leſs than thoſe who robbed him of his Food. It is the higheſt Service to God, with the Church of *Thyatira*, not to deny the Faith, *where Satan's ſeat is*, *where Antipas ſuffereth for the truth*, *Rev.* 11. 13. If God hath endowed any with Wiſdom, Power and Truſt by Princes, and in ſuch time they withdraw their help from God and his Church, it is like they will call to him in the day of their trouble and God will not hear them. Remember, after the reducing of the People from the Captivity, the Prophets did charge the re-building of the Houſe of God; the Princes of *Judah* anſwered, *The time is not come, the time wherein the Lord's Houſe*

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ſhould be built. None was ſo impudent to come directly contrary to this Charge, but they meant, we are poor, newly come out of Captivity, we have ſtrong Enemies about us, we muſt wait a better opportunity, a more ſeaſonable time: a jugling trick it is to croſs good Works, and cruſh them ſubſtantially, by oppoſing them onely circumſtantially: Notwithſtanding all this the Prophet chargeth them, *Is it time for you, O yee!* (this compellation is very emphatical) *to dwell in your cieled Houſes, and this Houſe lie waſte?* Read the Judgments, I ceaſe to repeat it, I love not to apply it, and wiſh it be not the Judgment of our Times! See *Hag.* 1. *verſ.* 1, 2, 3. *&* *à verſ.* 6. *ad verſ.* 12. Do not deceive your ſelves with that impoſture, that you will wait upon an opportunity to right all that is disjoynted in Church, you are not to tempt God, to put him to extraordinary Providence, when he has put you in the ordinary way to ſerve him, and to prevent theſe miſchiefs. Is it lawful and warrantable to you to do Evil, or give way to Evil, and to wait opportunity to do good afterward to ſalve all this? Or can you expect that God will honour you to make you fit inſtruments to repair again what is wrong? Certainly, you neither deſerve it, nor can lay any claim or intereſt to it.

If theſe men fear Covenants and Aſſociations, I deſire them to remember, that as in Scripture the firſt and happieſt Covenant is *the Covenant of Mercy and Grace*, ſo in the next place we have in Holy Writ mentioned *A Covenant of Levi*; which is the means ordinary God hath appointed to preſerve the other. The Scripture telleth us, that it is an high impiety *to corrupt the Covenant of Levi, Mal.* 11. 8. Both the one and the other Covenant are Covenants of Salt, that is, of everlaſting durance, from which it followeth neceſſa-

rily that whatſoever Covenant deſtroyeth the Ordinance of God in the neceſſary Government of the Church, the Ordinances of the Worſhip and its Solemnities, cannot be from God, from whence then it comes you may eaſily gueſs.

Of all impieties in this kind, there is no higher tranſgreſſion, than if the *Tribe of Levi*, for ſome ſubſiſtence to themſelves and theirs, and to gain popular applauſe and credit with the Faction, aſſure Kings they may give way to a popular current and flood, to ſuffer God's Ordinances to be deſtroyed, the Solemnity of the Worſhip defaced, till a better opportunity offer. I beg pardon to ſpeak truth in humility and reverence, and firſt to Kings, that although Churchmen adviſe Kings upon ſuch exigents, to do ſuch unwarrantable Acts, yet it will not excuſe them in the Day of their Accounts, no more than it excuſed *Achab* that had the warrant of *Zedekiah*, 1 *Kings* 22. 11. Nor did it excuſe *Pilate*, who had the repreſentative Body of Prieſts and State to warrant him they had a Law, and by their Law Chriſt was a Malefactor and worthy to dye. Next, let me tell the Tribe of *Levi*, who for their own good and popular applauſe, do comply with a popular Faction, and ſet their brains on work to make ſpecious ſhews of Reaſon, and inducements to perſwade or warrant Kings, *by permiſſion and giving way, or by actual concurrence with their Authority*, to permit and do Acts *deſtructive to Chriſt's Ordinances, or derogatory to the Worſhip*, are near to the ſin of Apoſtacy, and another of an higher degree, which I fear to name. But of all Levites thoſe are the moſt miſerable, who, being advanced to the higheſt of Sacred Orders, having enriched themſelves by the Patrimony of the Church, to keep their purchaſe, have abjured that Sacred Order as Antichriſtian, and yet make not reſtitution

tion of what they have purchaſed. I wonder how ſuch mens Repentance could be admitted, for in ſuch caſes they cannot truly repent without Reſtitution; *Non dimittetur peccatum niſi reſtituetur ablatum.* Theſe men come ſhort of *Judas* his Repentance, who was not onely contrite for betraying his Maſter, but reſtored the Money which unjuſtly he had purchaſed by his Villany. By the detention of their purchaſe, their Converts declare themſelves *Mercenary*, and their Fathers by receiving them into their Communion, publiſh to the World, they care not what they loſe in truth, if they can deceive the People to make them think by ſuch a goodly acceſs their evil Cauſe is ſtrengthened: I refer theſe Apoſtate Biſhops to read the ſtory of *Ecebolus*; I wiſh them not to be in like condition, and ceaſe to apply the ſtory. I thank God there is no rancour in my heart againſt them nor their Fathers Converters, my imprecations are no other, but to pray Almighty God to give them true Repentance and to forgive them.

The ſum of what we have ſaid is this, that neither King nor Kingdom can be happy, if Kings fear not God, and do not from this fear preſerve the Right of God and his Church, protect and promote the Ordinances of God, and advance the Worſhip and its Solemnity. Nor will bad Counſellors excuſe them in the Day of their Accounts, nor will the Counſellors eſcape juſt Judgment, and it is like God will make the ſame People a Rod to ſcourge them, whom they have followed and given way to, with the loſs of a good conſcience, and offence againſt God.

As Princes, the Sons of the moſt High, and Vicegerents of Chriſt upon Earth, are bound to Piety in their perſonal carriage above other, and to procure and protect it in their publick Government, ſo they are

bound in their private and publick Converſation and Government to be excellently righteous. The Derivative naturally reſembleth its Primitive. God from whom they are by immediate Derivation, *hath no pleaſure in wickedneſs, neither doth evil dwell with him*, *Pſal.* 5. 4. Kings hold their Scepters from Chriſt, *The Scepter of Chriſt's Kingdom is a right Scepter. He loveth righteouſneſs and hateth wickedneſs*, *Pſal.* 45. 6, 7. *They are by generation from the Father*, *Pſal.* 89. They iſſue from the thigh of Chriſt, *Rev.* 17. 14. & 19. 14. They degenerate then if they be not righteous.

If Kings live and govern piouſly and juſtly, their Thrones ſhall be eſtabliſhed, their Crowns ſecured, and their Poſterity be bleſſed, *Prov.* 25. 5. *By righteouſneſs the Throne is eſtabliſhed*; The good of this will redound to the whole Kingdom, *Prov.* 29. 4. *The King by Judgment eſtabliſheth the Land, but he that receiveth gifts overthroweth it. Fœlix Reſpublica in quâ qui imperat timet Deum.* See God's charge to Kings, *Jer.* 22. 1, 2, 3. *Execute ye judgment and righteouſneſs, and deliver the oppreſſed*, &c. verſ. 4. *For if ye do this thing indeed, then ſhall there enter in by the gates of this Houſe Kings ſitting upon the Throne of* David, *riding in chariots and on horſes, he and his ſervants and his people.* verſ. 5. *But if you will not hear theſe words*, &c. verſ. 7. *I will prepare deſtroyers againſt thee*, &c. *David* the King knew this, *Pſal.* 33. 16. *There is no King ſaved by the multitude of an hoſt.* How then? verſ. 18. *The eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy.* He practiſed it, *Pſal.* 61. 4. *I will abide in thy Tabernacle for ever, I will truſt in the covert of thy wings.* The meaning is, his conſtant purpoſe and practice ſhould be holy and juſt, and to advance Piety and Righteouſneſs: from this iſſueth that confidence he ſubjoyneth *verſ.* 6. *Thou wilt prolong the King's life, and his years*

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as many Generations. verſ. 7. *He ſhall abide before God for ever, O prepare Mercy and Truth which may preſerve him.* See *Pſal.* 72. wholly; *Prov.* 20. 8. *&* 29. 4, 14. *&* 16. 12, 13.

This Truth believed by Kings, that they are immediately ſent from God, and Vicegerents upon Earth, is a ground of great Confidence in God in their greateſt Troubles, which uſually are great and frequent; for as the talleſt Cedars they are expoſed to the Violence of greateſt Tempeſts; their only way is to run to God for Protection and Deliverance. They may lay claim to it more than any. God is the Principal, they only Lieutenants and ſubordinate: more favour is allowed to them, greater Protection promiſed to them. *Pſal.* 89. 26. *He* (that is the King) *ſhall cry unto me, Thou art my Father, my God, and the Rock of my Salvation. Alſo I will make him my firſt born.* David, *Pſal.* 44. 4. approacheth to God in this Confidence; *Thou art my King, O God, command Deliverance for* Jacob. A Subject claimeth Protection from the King as his Due, ſo may the King from his Lord and Maſter. *Solomon* upon this ground that God had ſet him upon the Throne of *David*, begged Government and Judgment to go out and in before his People: 1 *King.* 3. The Lord did not refuſe it, but in his Bounty ſupererogated what was fit for his more Magnificence. God hath a ſecret and unknown way in directing and guiding Princes, and no leſs admirable a way in guarding their Perſons, and delivering them out of all their Troubles: *Prov.* 21. 1. *The heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord as the Rivers of Waters; He turneth it whitherſoever he will.* Pſal. 18. verſ. ult. *Great Deliverances giveth he to his King, and ſheweth Mercy to his Anointed, &c.* The Heathen have acknowledged in Kings ſome *Heroici impetus*, ſome ſtrange and extraor-

dinary Inſpirations and Directions, ſeconded with as admirable Succeſſes and Protection; that a θεῖόν τι in them, ſomething extraordinary above that God in his ordinary Providence by Direction or Protection vouchſafeth upon others. I refer you to read and meditate what you have written, 2 *Kings* 19. 25, 27. and *Iſai.* 42. 1, 27. and you will doubt no more of this Truth. *This day is this Truth fulfilled in our Ears*; we have before our Eyes ſuch a wonderful over-ruling Direction and Protection of our Sovereign in this Rebellion, that we muſt acknowledge *it is the Lords work, and marvellous in our Eyes*, Pſal. 118.

This Truth is a ſtrong Motive to perſwade Subjects to all Duty. Firſt, to honour, reverence, and obey the King next to God, and above all others. The *Fear of God and the King* are immediately conjoyned and enjoyned together in Scripture: *Prov.* 24. 21, 22, 23. *My Son, fear God and the King, &c.* 1 *Pet.* 11. 17. *Fear God, honour the King.* See *Tertullian* to this purpoſe in the places we cited before: and *Gregory Nazianzen. Orat.* 20. which is a funeral Oration for *Baſil* the great. The Moral Law hath mixt to the duty we owe to God in the firſt Table, placed in the firſt place, *Honora patrem*, Honour the King. What Divinity then can it be which this miſerable unhappy Age hath invented and vented, that the Fear of God and the King are inconſiſtent; and the beſt Badge of a Chriſtian is to oppoſe the juſt and lawful Demands and Commands of Kings? This is none of Chriſts, his Apoſtles, nor ancient Chriſtians and Martyrs Doctrine. What Chriſtian heart can be ſo hard as not to mourn for this, and cry out with that holy Martyr *Polycarp*, Good Lord, for what times haſt thou reſerved me?

Again

Again, this Truth that Kings are Gods Vicegerents, ſent by immediate Commiſſion from him, tyed us to maintain our Kings in Honour, Wealth, and Power, proportioned to ſo high a Calling. This the word *Honora patrem*, honour thy Father naturally in the Diction and Dialect of the Scripture, imports, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17, 21. Almighty God, although his Immenſity be attended with an αὐτάρκεια and εὐδαιμονία, *an able ſufficiency* and all *Felicity*, yet hath he ſequeſtrated and ſet a-part ſome perſons peculiarly for his ſacred Service, ſome place for his publick Worſhip, and ſome *Quota* of our Revenues and Induſtry, that all men may acknowledge *His Sovereignty*, and their own Dependency from, and Subordination and Subjection to him; ſo it is the good will and pleaſure of God, that all Subjects ſhould in Teſtimony of their Subjection to Sovereignty, and in true Acknowledgment of their Supremacy, contribute ſome of their Means for the Maintenance and honour of the King: this is the Apoſtles Doctrine, *Rom.* 13. 6. *For, for this Cauſe pay you Tribute alſo; for they are Gods Miniſters, attending continually upon this very thing.* What can be more fully ſaid? They are immediately from God, They are Gods Miniſters, for this Cauſe then we are bound to pay Tribute. And let the *for* in the Frontiſpiece of the verſe make you reflect your eyes upon that which goeth before, and you will find it is not *an arbitrary Right* they have to this, which is given upon them by *a voluntary Compact or Grant*, or *extorted by Fear*, the Apoſtle ſheweth this we do, *not only for Wrath*, (that is, for fear of Puniſhment, for in their Power it is to puniſh thoſe who will not do this Duty) *but for Conſcience ſake.* This our Lord and Maſter both taught and practiſed, *paying Tribute to* Cæſar, and commanding *to render to Cæſar the things that were* Cæſar's; due to him as *Cæſar*,

ſar, not by grant or compact from the People. And Reaſon it ſelf evinceth, that this Maintenance ſhould be proportioned to that high Degree and Meaſure, as may preſerve his Glory and Majeſty, that it be not leſſened or contemned, and as may ſufficiently enable him to act and effect the happy works and Fruits of Royal Government to preſerve all in Peace and Plenty. See to this purpoſe *Juſtin Martyr*, *Apolog.* 2. and St. *Chryſoſtom* upon *Rom.* 13. *paſſim.*

This Doctrine, that Kings are immediately from God, and independent from all other Creatures whatſoever, teacheth alſo, that it is high Rebellion againſt God to oppoſe or reſiſt the King. This Conſequence the Apoſtle thus deduceth, *Rom.* 13. *verſ.* 1. *The Powers that be are ordained of God. verſ.* 2. Ergo, *Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.* Pardon me to cite *Chryſoſtom* upon the words; ὁ μὴ ὑπακούων ἐκείνῳ, τῷ θεῷ πολεμεῖ, τῷ ταυτὰ νομοθετήσαντι. καὶ τοῦτο πανταχοῦ δεῖξαι πανταχοῦ, ὅτι ἃ χαριζόμεθα αὐτοῖς τῷ ὑπακοῇ, ἀλλ' ὀφείλομεν. He that obeyeth not the King, fighteth againſt God, (what do they then that come in Arms againſt him?) who by his Law hath eſtabliſhed Obedience, and not Reſiſtance: and the Apoſtle every where, always, and upon all Occaſions, endeavoureth this mainly, that our Obedience to Kings is not arbitrary, conditional, or by compact, but neceſſary, and impoſed upon us by God. Holy Scripture is ſo careful we oppoſe not ſacred Authority, that it hath forbidden it in all it's kinds, all it's degrees. 1. We are not to think a bad Thought of them in our Hearts, *Eccleſ.* 10. 20. 2. The Tongue is not to ſpeak Evil of them: *Exod.* 22. 28. *Jud.* 8. Conſequently neither

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Pen nor Preſs are to write, or print, to their Diſgrace and Diſadvantage. 3. We are not with *Judas* to lift up our heel. 4. *David*'s Heart ſmote him when he ſmote *Saul*'s Garment. 5. The hand cannot ſtretch out it ſelf againſt the Lords Anointed, and the Actor be innocent. 6. It is to fight againſt God; for he that rebelleth againſt the King, rebelleth againſt God. He that blaſphemeth the King, blaſphemeth God: 1. *Kings* 21. The Prodigal in his Return acknowledgeth, he ſinned no leſs againſt Heaven than his Father. God hath taken them *in Societatem nominis, in ſocietatem numinis*: *Pſal.* 82. 6. 7. The greatneſs of the Sin may appear, that the greateſt of Judgments fall upon Traytors and Rebels. Scripture is plentiful in Examples of this kind, and all Story witneſſeth for it. Remember the Story of *Rudolph* Duke of *Suevia*, who ſware Allegiance to *Henry* the fourth, by Pope *Hildebrand* was looſed from his Oath, but miſerably died he; and before his Death the right hand with which he ſware, was cut off, and ſay he could to the Biſhops, This is the hand was lifted up when I ſware Allegiance to my Emperour, juſtly cut off for my Perjury and Rebellion, for which you are to anſwer, who put me upon this miſchievous Courſe and Rebellion. See *Aventine* and others: infinite Examples may be alledged. If they eſcape the Judgment of men by their ſcarce warrantable Meekneſs and Clemency, God hath Executioners in ſtore, and ready for them: He will revenge for his own Intereſt. If the King will not do Juſtice againſt a Traytor, God will make his own Friend do it, and if that fail, his own Breaſt, or both of them, This was *Abſalom*'s caſe: 2 *Sam.* 18. 14. Thy Confederates will do it, This was *Sheba*'s caſe: 2 *Sam.* 20. 22. Before an Executioner be wanting, thy own hand ſhall do it; This was *Achitophel's caſe*

who

who hanged himself: 2 *Sam.* 17. 23. And *Zimri*'s *case too*, 1 *Kings* 16. 18. If no man will do it, Earth and Hell will do it; This was *the case of Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and their Complices*: *Numb.* 16. 23. This is the first Rebellion in Scripture, recorded against Prince and Priest. And take with you *Optatus* Bishop of *Milevis*'s note upon it, no Sin in Scripture recorded hath a Judgment parallel to this. If all Creatures should fail to be Executioners, God will do it by his immediate hand from Heaven: *Psalm* 144. 8. To shut up this, God allowed no Sanctuary for Treason and Traytors, as is manifest in the case of *Joab*, pulled from the Altar, and Justice done upon him.

Lastly, seeing the King is sacred in his Person, in his Power, in his Royal Christian Prerogative, it is high Sacriledge, and Intrusion upon God and the King, to rob him of any part of his Sacred Right. The ancient Church did judge so. *Hosius* writing to *Constantius* an Arrian Emperour, saith ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ Θεῷ. This Holy Father and the whole Church in his time did account it a Theft, and an Opposition to God and his Ordinance by Fraud or Force, to cheat or extort from a King any thing due to his ἀρχὴ, his Empire, his Sovereignty. It was not dreamed of then, that *an Excellency* could be set up against *a Majesty*, or a *Coordinate power* erected with *Sovereignty*. In the happy time of the Christian Church this was the greatest Robbery, the highest Sacriledge, the most violent Intrusion upon God and his Anointed.

The best and readiest way for all Happiness to a Kingdom, is when the King considereth that his Greatness and Glory consisteth in the Happiness of his Subjects, and proportioneth all his Actions and Govern-

ment

nent to their Peace and Plenty; and the People on the ther part when they level their Intentions, Actions, Endeavours and Obedience, to preſerve his Sacred Perſon, His Sacred Right, and Royal Prerogative. Let none ivide thoſe things God hath conjoyned. When People are thus affected, it will move Kings for the ood of their People, with *Saul*, to be ready to ſacrifice *Jonathan*; or with *Codrus*, to dye himſelf for the Safety of his People; or with *David*, in great Judgments from God, to be powerful Interceſſors with God to remove his Plagues, to ſay, *Quid meruere oves?* what have the poor ſheep done? ſmite me and my Fathers houſe: 2 *Sam.*24. Like to the *good ſhepherd, to lay down his life for his ſheep*: *Joh.* 10. And this will work in the People ſuch zeal and affection to their Sovereign, that they will be ready to loſe Lands, Riches, Honour, Life, before their King ſuffer in Honour, in his Sacred Power, Sacred Right, and Sacred Perſon. If the Head be well, the Body fareth the better, and when the Body is in good health and conſtitution, the Head is the better, leſs trouble, no pain: For proof of this, I refer you to that noble paſſage of *Juſtin Martyr*, cited before, *quæſt. & reſponſ. ad Orthod. q.* 138. Read the whole paſſage, it is an expreſſion *in ſe de propria*, in a convenient and proper place.

In Sum, the Reſult of all is, that from this truth, that Kings are immediately from God and Chriſt, independent from all others, there iſſueth a great many excellent and uſeful Corollaries: as firſt, That the excellency of their Dignity is not a motive (if it be well weighed) to make them ſwell *Lucifer*-like in Pride, for the weight of their great and difficult Charge will force them of all men to be moſt humble. *Officiis quis idoneus iſtis?* Their Crowns are dependent from Chriſt and his Crown, and truly conſidered are onely

Crowns

Crowns of thorns: ſuch as *Dionyſius* ſaid, an underſtanding man would not take up if it were lying at his feet. Secondly, as Kings are nearer to God than any Creatures in the low Univerſe, ſo are they tied to approach neareſt to him in Holineſs and all Humane and Chriſtian Perfection. Thirdly, they are bound to all care, endeavour, and zeal for Chriſt's Glory, his Truth, the Sincerity and Solemnity of his Worſhip, and that not onely as men and Chriſtians, but as Kings and Fathers of the State, and Nurſe-fathers of the Church. Fourthly, howſoever exempted from Humane Law and coercion, yet they are to live and reign according to the Law and Preſcript of God and Chriſt, which if they tranſgreſs, they ſhall receive Puniſhment proportionable to their high Dignity, and according to their Demerit for betraying the high Truſt put upon them. Fifthly, Although the Royal Right be not founded in *ſaving holineſs and ſanctity*, but is *ſacred in another reſpect*, by a delegate Power and Truſt, yet the way to ſecure their Crowns, their Poſterity, in the Right tranſmiſſible from them, and to make their Kingdoms happy, is to live piouſly in Private and Publick Devotions, and to intend at firſt, and do it moſt in their Sacred Government. Sixthly, next to Almighty God, the higheſt Honour, Reverence, and Obedience is due to him. Seventhly, and Maintenance from their Subjects, proportioned to their high Dignity, and to inable them to act and do what is neceſſary and expedient for God's Glory, the good of the Church, and Peace, Plenty, and Protection of the Subject. Eighthly, to reſiſt him, oppoſe him, in thought, word or deed, is Rebellion againſt God himſelf. Ninthly, it is high Sacrilege, and not onely Royal but Divine Uſurpation, to trench upon the Kings Sacred Right.

To ſhut up all that concerneth this firſt Queſtion, I humbly beg pardon to intreat in all reverence *my Lord the King* to look upon a Speech of St. *Auguſtine*, worthy of the reading and meditation of all and the beſt of Chriſtian Kings, he will find it, *Tom.* 5. *lib.* 5. *de Civ. Dei, cap.* 24. which *verbatim* is thus, *Reges fœlices eos dicimus, ſi juſtè imperant, ſi inter linguas ſublimiter honorantium, & obſequia nimis humiliter ſalutantium non extollantur; ſed ſe homines eſſe meminerint, ſuam poteſtatem ad Dei cultum maximè dilatandum Majeſtati ejus famulam faciant; ſi Deum timent, diligunt, colunt; ſi plus amant illud regnum ubi non timent habere conſortes; ſi tardiùs vindicant, ſi facilè ignoſcunt; ſi eandem vindictam pro neceſſitate regendæ tuendæ Reip. non pro ſaturandis inimicitiarum odiis exerunt; ſi eandem veniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, ſed ad ſpem correctionis indulgent; ſi quos aſperè aliquando coguntur decernere, miſericordiæ lenitate & beneficiorum largitate compenſant; ſi luxuria tantò eis eſt caſtigatior, quantò poſſit eſſe liberior; ſi malunt cupiditatibus prævis quam quibuſlibet gentibus imperare & ſi hæc omnia faciant, non propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, ſed propter charitatem fœlicitatis æternæ; ſi pro ſuis peccatis, humilitatis, & miſerationis, & orationis ſacrificium Deo ſuo vero immolare non negligunt. Tales Chriſtianos principes dicimus eſſe fœlices interim ſpe, poſtea re ipſa futuros, cùm id quod expectamus evenerit.* O golden expreſſions, worthy to be ſet in Letters of Gold, with moſt precious Stones and Diamonds, and then put upon all Royal Crowns! It is a ſhort (but a thouſand-fold better) expreſſion of what we have ſaid. *Plato, Ariſtotle, Cicero, Xenophon* in his fancied *Cyropædia* had never the like; it is worth all they have ſaid, all they have written on this ſubject, in this kind.

Let me add a word or two to our ſelves who are Subjects. Let us learn to give to the Lord's Anointed his

his due, if we will approve our ſelves good Chriſtians, like to our Maſter, *the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, like to his Apoſtles, like to the ancient and holy Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.* Let us never deceive our ſelves, like to the *Jews*, who claimed to be the Sons of *Abraham*, when they wrought the Works of their Father the Devil, *Joh.* 8. Let us not ſhame our ſelves, and Reformed Catholick Religion, by turning Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, and deter all Kings in the Chriſtian World to come to the Profeſſion of Reformed Truth, and Communion of our Church. And that this may be done the more ſucceſsfully, Let us all pray;

LOrd, hear our King in the day of trouble. The Name of the God of Jacob *defend him. Send him help out of the Sanctuary, and ſtrengthen him from* Sion. *Remember all his Offerings, and accept his burnt Sacrifices. Give him according to his own Heart, and fulfil all his Counſel. That we may rejoyce in thy Salvation. Teach us his Subjects to fear thee and the King, and not to meddle with them that are given to change. Continue the Loyal in Reverence, Obedience and Subjection. Reduce the Sons of Belial to their Duty. Make thy Spirit fall upon all, that we may ſay, thine are we, O King, and on thy ſide; that the Peace and Beauty of thy Sion may be reſtored, thine Anointed with his Sacred Right re-ſeated upon his Throne, the bleeding wounds of the Land [illegible] up, the Peace of the Kingdom re-[illegible] whoſoever elſe is diſjoynted may be [illegible]. Do [illegible] Lord, not for us, or for our merits, but [illegible] the All-ſufficient merits of thy Son, [illegible] of our Lord and Saviour* JESUS.

And let every good Chriſtian, all loyal-hearted Subjects, who [illegible] for the Peace of *Sion*, and building up of the walls of *Jeruſalem*, pray, Amen. *Soli Deo Gloria.*

FINIS.

BRITISH
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M[illegible]

A Meſſenger of Truth

From the *Common Hall*, Aſsembled in *London* on *MIDSUMMER*-Day laſt:

Or an ACCOUNT of

The Pretended Petition.

With Allowance.

WHereas there hath been lately a printed Paper, ſpread abroad under the Title of, *An account of the Proceedings of the Common-Hall, on Midſummer-day laſt*; thereby pretending it to be done to prevent *Miſrepreſentation*; and aſserting a Petition therein ſet forth, to be unanimouſly approved of and agreed upon by that publick Aſsembly of the Livery, (repreſenting the whole City of *London*,) to be preſented to the High Court of Parliament.

We cannot imagine that Paper was ſo Printed and Publiſhed with any colour of Authority; but muſt rather conclude it was done (as maliciouſly deſigned) by ſome ill minded Perſons, to caſt an Odium on this great City, and to create Miſunderſtandings between his Majeſty's Subjects, under a diſguiſe of Oppoſition to Popery.

'Tis true, and cannot be denyed, that a ſmall number of Citizens (when ſo duly aſsembled) do make a Common-Hall, and the Petition in that ſence, may not improperly be ſo ſtyled: But it doth not from thence follow, that the Matters contained therein were aſsented unto, ſo as to be approved of, and deſired by more Perſons than were ſo aſsembled together, and approving of the ſame, when it was read and propoſed to them.

And therefore we do judge it a duty highly incumbent on us, (as we are Members of that great Body,) to prevent, as much as in us lies, the evil Influence that Paper may have on the Minds of eaſie and credulous Perſons: To the end Truth it ſelf (which needs no little arts or tricks to ſupport it) may by its own ſinews, prevail to undeceive ſuch as have been already mis-informed thereby.

We paſs by the Matter of the Petition, and what entertainment it met withal from the Houſe of Commons, as more fit for conſideration of our Superiours.

And only take notice, how vehement and earneſt ſome Men were, in that great Aſsembly, to put the Commoners in Nomination before the ſitting Aldermen, which greatly ſuprized many of the Electors; and it was manifeſt ſcarce one in twenty underſtood the Queſtion when it was put, in regard of the Noiſe and Oppoſition, which was made by thoſe that did apprehend it: And it could not but be matter of trouble (to ſuch as ſoberly deſire and conſult the publick Peace and Tranquillity of this City) to obſerve what earneſt endeavours were uſed to invert Order and Decency therein, (as it were, ſhifting Feet and Face,) by poſtponeing ſuch as are already advanced to the Dignity of Senators, to their Inferiours in Nomination.

And